

Dialogues of the Buddha

DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA

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Vol. 2

*Translated from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya by
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE growing demand for translations of the Pali canon has encouraged the Pali Text Society, which manages the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, to bring out a new edition of the important second volume of the *Dialogues of the Buddha*. The original edition of 1910 has now been out of print for fifteen years or so ; and before it had been published for as long as eighteen months, practically the whole of the second edition was destroyed during the war of 1939-45. It has been impossible to find a copy of this second edition, and the present edition is therefore a reprint of the 1910 edition. But it includes the Preface Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote for the second edition, and which she then published in a slightly revised form in her *Wayfarer's Words*, vol. III, p. 963-972 (Messrs. Luzac & Co., 1942). Although possessing a proof copy of the former, we have decided that it would be more in accordance with her wishes to reprint here the version in *Wayfarer's Words*, containing as it does her own revision of what she had already written.

Her Preface has as its principal object the correction of " much error (as well as much knowledge) disseminated by the first edition " (*Wayfarer's Words*, III, p. 962). After studying it, it will be found quite easy to substitute in this reprint of the original edition the alterations she would have made, but did not for reasons she gives, as well as those she did in fact make in the now virtually lost, but not greatly revised, second edition of 1938.

I. B. HORNER

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

DOES one but hold on long enough in this span of human way-faring, one may be here to see even the translation of a Buddhist text sold out, with the gentle demand for it not yet exhausted. So has this work, after 28 years, attained to a second edition. By the process called ' off-set ', emendations are difficult and costly. And there are no funds. Hence I have made only such as were most desirable, leaving in much which I should have wished to see expressed otherwise, both in my husband's work and in my own, were this more thoroughly a ' new ' edition.

A word first to make clear our partnership in both this and the third (and last) volume, the first being wholly his work (published 1899). He ceased from his labours here in 1922, soon after the completion of these Dialogues. From the beginning of this century he had undertaken engrossing work as holding the new, the first Chair in a British University for the comparative study of religion, a task, at the present stage of research, fitter for half a dozen men than for one. Concentration on work in any one religious tradition had become impossible. It was only when Estlin Carpenter suggested that I should join in aiding the completion of the Dialogues that we both with good will started to do this. Of this second volume Rh. D. had already, in 1881, published Suttantas XVI and XVII in *Sacred Books of the East*, XI. All the rest I translated, he revising my work, inserting many of the footnotes and contributing all the Introductions save that to the Mahā-Nidāna Suttanta, which is my work.

Another eleven years passed before the remaining volume was issued. Funds had to be raised, and our generous patron no longer sat on Siam's throne. My husband was ageing, his health waning, and the accursed war came down. Siam's later monarch however, paid the printer, and the Dialogues achieved completion in 1921. Introductions to XXXI-XXXIII I wrote and all the translation.

In this edition it is mainly my own work that I have revised. Not a little in my partner's work needed revision, but there was not only expense, but the wish in me not to barge in on what was in a way a ' classic '. Moreover his footnotes, where a rendering seemed to him make-shift, often guard the reader. In all this there is matter in the history of research it may be well to keep in view.

Here I will briefly notice certain prominent renderings I have left unaltered, and also three of vital importance which I have altered.

(1) I have only altered Max-Mullerian transliteration (a system now generally discarded) where cerebrals were involved. To write *K* for *C*, *G* for *J*, etc., has proved for the general reader, ay, for the general writer too misleading to be left in. Further, I have let stand the circumflex for the long *ā* ; also the less correct crude form of *-i* for *-in*, e.g. in Vipassin, and the crude form of *-a* in Gotama, etc. I never could share the partiality of some German and Asiatic scholars for the nominative in *-o* for general use. Such a phrase as ' he told Ānado ' is too unpleasant a shock—as were one to say ' amo tu '.

(2) I have let stand the use of ' god ' for ' deva ', but I do not find either ' god ' or ' angel ' historically fitting. In early Buddhism (as a consequence of the accepted Immanence) Vedic gods *had become friendly mortals*, living close by and given, in friendly good will, to talk with the ' man-who-saw ' and heard. Immanence had driven out, save for the many-folk, the notions of worship, prayer, ritual, intermediacy. Nor were devas always ' messengers ' (angels) from a Highest. Nor do I like *devatā*, the abstract, as ' fairy ', this I have changed to ' being ' or ' spirit '.

(3) I have left in ' brethren ' for *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhave*, etc. Unwillingly, but cf. footnote, 1st ed., p. 81. I have not the objection to ' monk ' Rh. D. there shows, nor have I found Buddhists objecting. We should not, because of convenience and tradition, force in ' brethren '. The Pali for ' brother ' could have been used, had it seemed meet, it never was used.

(4) I have left in his ' intoxications ' and my ' intoxicants ' for ' āsavā '. We have no good word for spreading, absorbed, liquid pane. ' Canker ' is on the whole best, yet it is too ' dry '. Drugs, taints, poisons have also served.

(5) I have let *viññāṇa* be rendered by ' cognition ', or by ' consciousness ', albeit the older meaning : ' man-as-surviving ' or ' soul ' is in the main truer. But not in all Suttas. We see, in Majjhima 38, how this older meaning of a persisting principle, referred to as ' speaker, experiencer ', is being hounded out, to be replaced by a meaning virtually identical with that of the other two varieties of cognition : *saññā*, *vedanā*, as merely the mental outcrop of sensation. *Viññāṇa*, in the Indian tradition, could connote both meanings, we have no such Janus-word.

(6) I have let ' rapture ' in *Jhāna* stand for *samādhi* (lit. ' concentration '), although it goes too far, is too near Chalmers' ' ecstasy ', which also goes too far. The only ' rapture ' about *samādhi* is the ' rapt ' quality of hyper-attention. As ' rapture ' it is too easily confused with *pīti*, or emotional rapture, which in *samādhi* had to be suppressed.

(7) I have let the usual ' wobbling ' in translation stand, when it is *bhava* that has to be rendered. Thus (p. 131) the last two lines : ' craving for future life—renewed existence—no more

birth' show a triple use of the one word *bhava*, thus: 'then is the craving for becoming rooted out—that which leads to becoming is faded out—there is no more becoming'. No one reading the former translation gets any idea of the sinister change which had come over this word. No one unhelped would recognize it as the joyous word on p. 267, when the king sends polite greeting: 'May good fortune (*bhava*) attend the honourable Jotipāla.' (The Commentary strongly supports this rendering). In original Buddhism 'becoming' is given as the reason why men needed Gotama's message, as one which could promote that 'good fortune' in the spiritual growth of the man. It had come, in monasticism, to mean the dreadful persistence of life both as 'rebirth' and as 're-worlded'. However, the translator, with his triple variant for the one Pali word, gets there, so far as the monastic outlook goes, and so I leave it.

(8) Then there is the great word, of all words hardest fitly to translate: Dhamma. This is quite inaccurately rendered 'Truth': Had the Buddhist speaker wished to say 'Truth', he had three strong words at hand: *sacca*, *bhūta*, *tathatā*. But no one regrets more than I that Rh. D. and I did not hammer out more often our renderings together. Till near his end I was too much just pupil, let alone that we were both more or less akin to the Sutta Nipāta rhinoceros:

eko care khaggavisāṇakappo

My own view of that day I somewhat guard in a footnote (p. 29) by adducing the term 'Norm'. But Dhamma wants a better word than what is a 'good average'. Gotama's many brahmin fellow-workers will have had in mind the Upanishadic term *antaryāmin*. Yet will this not have sufficed for Dhamma, object from the first of the Leader's avowed worship. This was more; it was inner incentive, urger, not merely restraining force. There was in Dhamma the push of conscience as well as its check. Hence possibly it is why *antaryāmin* did not get taken over by them, as for a while did *amṛta*.

But *dhamma* had also got the wider looser meaning of 'religion'; for this no other word was current (save perhaps *suddhi*). Take an instance from our volume III, p. 37: 'What is this *dhamma* wherein you train your disciples, so that they win comfort and acknowledge inclination as the beginning of the training, *ajjhāsayam ādibrahmacariyam*?' How is not a stronger word, like 'will', wanted here). For us religion here fits better than any other term. If the reader will bear in mind this wider meaning of *dhamma*, and let 'Truth' convey this, Rh. D. will not have misled him. Anyway it is better than the rendering 'Law'.

Here a brief codicil. On p. 38 I have once more altered in a formula three epithets, usually applied to *dhamma*, and have let them apply, implicitly as in the Pali, to the life of the 'wayfarer'

(*tathāgata*) If *dhamma* means 'religion', these epithets: 'beginning, middle, end' have no fit place. Nor have they if we call *dhamma* 'Truth'. Nor can the three fit the later meaning, now general among Southern Buddhists, of *dhamma* as a code of teaching, for, when this mission-charge was made to the first disciples, there was not yet any such code of oral teaching. Obviously, for me, the epithets apply to man's span of present life, here or elsewhere: *dhamma* as 'lovely at the beginning, middle, end.'

(9) A not unimportant matter is the leaving in, on p. 82 ff., of 'prosper' for growth (*vuddhi*). In the text we find *vuddhi* opposed to 'decay' (*parihāṇi*): 'just growth is to be expected, not decay.' 'Prosper' is not in itself incorrect, but for me it is vital to remember, that not only here, at the end of his long mission, but at its very beginning, the inspiring message ran: 'Men are decaying, as learners of (this) *dhamma* they will grow' (lit. 'become'). The great Man-lover is here shown keeping faith with the message from the Unseen from first to last. By the literal rendering 'growth' the reader can see this, as with 'prosper' he cannot.

This brings me to the three emendations I have made in our work, made because it is vital to an improved grasp of the teaching of original Buddhism that they should replace our own pioneer renderings, through which that grasp has been and still is crippled.

(10) The first is on pp. 29-32. Here, in translating, I had docilely followed Oldenberg's rendering in *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.)—these pages being his work, not Rh. D's—and also K. E. Neumann's (p. 268 of his *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1917). A rendering I repeated, alas! knowing no better then, in *Kindred Sayings*, I, pp. 173ff., 1917. These scholars judged that the word giving the better state for men who would hear Gotama teach meant just 'will be', not 'will become', or 'grow'. But this word 'will be' or 'become' is opposed to 'decaying,' thus indicating no mere future happening, but a causal process, an evolution, and hence had we all been more discerning, we should have seen that more was wanted than just a 'will be'. We had before us contexts in both Upanishads and Pitakas, where *bhavissanti* (and other *bhu* inflections) clearly meant more than just a copula, or bare future state. The more pregnant meaning of 'will become' gives a hitherto buried consecutive force to the Hesitation scene and to its immediate sequel, as I have repeatedly pointed out.¹

(11) The second corrected context is no less important. It is on p. 108, a very solemn, very emphatic parting charge. Rh. D.'s rendering is echoed by R.O. Franke's, which is yet more

¹ Cf. esp. my *To Become or not to Become*, 1937.

free. But that is not the worst. Both entirely ignored the religious import, in Gotama's day, of the word *attā* (*ātmā*), import by which the accepted teaching of Immanence brought into the word 'self', or 'spirit', Deity Itself. 'Lamps . . . refuge unto yourselves' may be good modern English tradition, but it was not Indian religious idiom of 500 B.C. And when our translators render similar compounds of *ātmā* in the Upanishads, their procedure is very different. Then it is 'Lamp of the Self, refuge of the Self', or at least similar usage of this word. Why not this usage here also?

Buddhists and lapsed Christians have lapped up this apparent call to be depending on the actual average self, quite overlooking that, in the Pali scriptures, the believer is usually told to take as refuge, not himself, not the two of the injunction: 'live as they that have the *attā*, that have *dhmma* as lamp, as refuge, and no other', but a *trinity* of lamps or refuges. And he cannot have it both ways. But I am here not mainly concerned with inconsistencies. It is for me most vital, I repeat, if we are to grip rightly the Founder's teaching, that we reject the atheistic or antitheistic presentation of it which, true enough of degenerate Hinayāna, is here thrust upon him who was the Child of a teaching of Immanence, the Child of an uplift in man—man as being, immanently and in germ, the Highest, the Peak of the Immortal (*'amat' agge*)—an outlook unrivalled then and since in religious culture. I do not suppose we shall ever get the word 'self' to raise us religiously as it raised India. We have seen grow up, since Johnson's Dictionary registered our language, the meaning in self and unselfish of 'egoism', 'altruism'. But long before it, St. Catherine of Genoa had taught Immanence with a personal pronoun. 'My Me is God . . . by a process of transformation'. For her perhaps *ipse, stessa*, did not mean the ugly thing they now do, yet she chose well. And I think that if our translators had consistently used 'spirit', not 'self', that rather absurd perversion by our translators of the pathetic farewell had never been made. But we started our Indian culture with research into grammar, and only then moved on into religion, taking with us the *grammatical ātmā*, when we, richer here than India, had the better alternatives of 'spirit' and 'soul', India having the one word.

(12) The third alternative is of but one word, yet it is hardly less important than the others. On p. 33, where the Hesitation scene, true it may be of Gotama only, is told as true or earlier Buddhas, we see the Teacher-to-be, for whom doubt has now been dispelled, making glad response to the inspiring deva, whom psychically he has seen and heard. So glad was this for early compilers that it had been lifted into poetry:

Opened for man the portals of the Undying!

Man, as learning that he was essentially, not just a being, but

a becoming, was herein to be shown how he had a very guarantee to winning the 'immortal peak' of Becoming, the very culmination of life (cf. p. 109). This glorious destiny for man conceived as essentially divine reverberates through the early Upanishads and was echoed by the Sakyan missionaries.

But for the after-men the vision faded out. Life was to be realized—so far as man, his vision turned earthwards could see—not as an ever more and more, but as something to be got rid of. And for the virtually positive term *amata*, they substituted the actually negative term *nirvāna*. So we get the Commentary telling us, that the 'portals' are '*nibbāna* reckoned as *amata*', and the translators, alas! following it, choosing (possibly for aesthetic reasons) the more musical exegetic term, and turning from a word belonging, as that term did not, to the best religious teaching when '*Buddhism*' was born. Late in time I have restored the 'undying' of the text, where *nirvāna* had been put.

Senior and junior translators, we may, in this volume leave an impression of 'self-lit self-supported' confidence that is misleading. Nay, none have been more mindful of difficulties. And I regret that, in the translation transferred from S.B.E. XI, for my husband's general preface no room was found, since in it are words of modesty and historical sagacity. Thus he wrote. 'with very great diffidence I yet maintain, that the discovery of early Buddhism . . . has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism'. After a lapse of sixty years I venture to think, that we can only now go on to achieve the flank-turning. Only now can we, with regard to the refrains and emphases in the Pitakas, endorse with confidence the truth in his special and later Introduction, in this volume, to No. XVI (p. 77). Namely, that these records may be considered authentic enough, but only in the one way in which any such record can be considered authentic, that is, as evidence of beliefs, of values, held *at the date at which it was composed*.

NOTE. I regret that, in the foregoing I did not list my cited reading of *l'amata'agge*: 'The peak of the Highest' as a fourth alteration. In preparing the volume for reprint, it had broken in on me, that Buddhaghosa's interpretation (p. 109 fn.) was fantastic, and of the worsened outlook of degenerate values. "Darkness" (*tamas*) plays here no part. The *l'* is the emphatic *ta*; the *agge* is Magadhese nominative (lingering here and there in the Canon), and *amata* it was that the New Gospel *professed to be revealing*. The compound, coupled with the pregnant *bhavissanti*, as 'will become' shows this very grand old man (yet ever young) closing his long work with the very words with which he had begun. But so far philologists have shaken sapient heads at me!

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHĀPADĀNA SUTTANTA.

WE find in this tract the root of that Birana-weed which, growing up along with the rest of Buddhism, went on spreading so luxuriantly that it gradually covered up much that was of value in the earlier teaching, and finally led to the downfall, in its home in India, of the ancient faith. The doctrine of the Bodhisatta, of the Wisdom-Being, drove out the doctrine of the Aryan Path. A gorgeous hierarchy of mythological wonder-workers filled men's minds, and the older system of self-training and self-control became forgotten.

Even at its first appearance here the weed is not attractive. The craving for edification is more manifest in it than the desire for truth. We have legends of six forerunners of the historical Buddha, each constructed with wearisome iteration, in imitation of the then accepted beliefs as to the life of Gotama. So exactly do these six legends follow one pattern that it has been possible, without the omission of any detail, to arrange them in parallel columns.

The main motive of this parallelism is revealed in the constantly repeated refrain *Ayam ettha dhammatā*: 'That, in such a case, is the rule,' the Norm, the natural order of things, according to the reign of law in the moral and physical world. Precisely the same idea is emphasized in the doctrine of dependent origination, the *Paṭicca-samuppāda*, placed here in the mouth of Vipassi, the most ancient of these six teachers of old. The fact that it is so placed shows that the early Buddhists, when our Suttanta was composed, believed this doctrine to have been pre-Buddhistic.

It is probable that all the great religious teachers of antiquity appealed, in support of their views, to the wise men of still older times. It is so recorded of most of them; and where it is not recorded, as in the cases of Lao Tsu and Zarathustra, that is probably due to the meagreness of the extant records. In every country where the level of intelligence was sufficient to produce a great leader of men in matters of religion, it was sufficient also to bear in remembrance the names at least, and a vague notion as to some of the doctrines, of former, if perhaps less successful and famous, reformers.

But a Wisdom-Being, appearing from aeon to aeon under similar circumstances to propound a similar faith! This is an exclusively Indian conception; in Indian literature it is mainly Buddhist; and in Buddhist literature its first appearance is in documents of the date of our Suttanta. Did the Buddha himself know anything of this theory? Possibly not. The theory of a number of successive Buddhas presupposes the conception of a Buddha as a different and more exalted personage than an Arahant. Now in our oldest documents these two conceptions are still in a state of fusion. The word Buddha does not occur in its later, special, technical sense. It occurs often enough in ambiguous phrases, where it may be translated by 'Converted One, Awakened One.' Thus at Sutta Nipāta 48 it is said, of Gotama, 'The Awakened One (Buddho) came to Rājagaha'; but the time referred to is some years before he had become a Buddha in the later technical sense. And at Sutta Nipāta 167 it is said: 'Let us ask Gotama, the awakened one who has passed beyond anger and fear'; but the very same adjectives are used at Itivuttaka, No. 68, of any ordinary Arahant. So the phrases used to describe the mental crises in Gotama's career are invariably precisely the same as those used under similar circumstances of his disciples; and this holds good both of his going forth, and of his victory and attainment of Nirvana under the Tree of Wisdom. Further than that, in long descriptions of Gotama—such for instance as that in Sutta Nipāta, verses 153 to 167—all the epithets used are found elsewhere applied to one or other of his disciples. The teacher never called himself a Buddha (as distinct from an Arahant). When addressed as Buddha, or spoken of as such, by his followers, it is always doubtful whether anything more is meant than an enlightened Arahant.

It is needless to state that this does not in the least imply any sense of equality between the teacher and his disciples. The very oldest documents represent the difference as immeasurable; but as a difference of degree, not of kind. The question is as to the manner of the growth and hardening of this sense of difference; and as to the consequent gradual change in the connotation of words.

In the episode of the events between the Wisdom Tree and the First Discourse, in which—for the first time perhaps—we twice have the epithet *Sammāsambuddha*¹, it is in a similar way associated both times on equal terms with Arahā. So

¹ *Majjhima I*, 171; *Vinaya I*, 8, 9; *Kathā Vatthu* 289; compare *Divy.* 393; *Mahāvastu III*, 326; *Jātaka II*, 284.

the word Bodhisatta has gradually changed its meaning and implication. First used of Gotama between the Going Forth and the Nirvana, it is then used of him from the moment of conception; then of all the Buddhas from conception to Arahantship; then of those beings on earth—men or animals—who were eventually to become Buddhas; then of gods; and finally it became a sort of degree in theology, and was used as a term of respect for any learned and able Mahâyânist doctor.

The word Apadâna, used in the title of this Suttanta for the legend or life-story of a Buddha, is also used as a title of a book in the supplementary Nikâya. There it has come generally to mean the legend or life-story of an Arahant, male or female, though the older connotation is also found. In later books it is never used, I think, for the legend of a Buddha. The full title may mean the Story of the Great Ones—that is the Seven Buddhas—or the Great (the important) Story—that is the Story of the Dhamma, and its bearers and promulgators. The last is probably what is meant, as in the corresponding title of the Mahâvastu.

[XIV. MAHĀPADĀNA SUTTANTA.

THE SUBLIME STORY.]

1. [1] Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvattī, in Anātha Pindika's pleasure in the Jeta Wood, at the Kareri-tree cottage¹. Now among many bhikkhus who had returned from their alms-tour and were assembled, sitting together after their meal, in the pavilion in the Kareri grounds², a religious conversation bearing on previous births arose, to the effect that thus and thus were previous births³.

2. And the Exalted One, with clear and Heavenly Ear surpassing the hearing of men, overheard this conversation among the bhikkhus⁴. And arising from

¹ Kareri, according to Childers, is *Capparis trifoliata*. The Cy. states that this tree which stood by the entrance to the cottage was a Varuna-tree, suggestive, if true, of the superseded tree-cult into which Varuna-worship had declined. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 235; Jāt. IV, 8. There were four principal buildings in the Jeta Wood: the cottage or chamber in question, the Kosamba-tree cottage, a perfumed chamber, and the fir-tree house (sala/a = sarala-ghara). According to the commentator each cost 100,000 [² kahāpanas] to build, but the ancient bas-relief on the Bharahat Tope shows clearly cottages, and apparently cottages of only one room each. In § 12 below this cottage is called a vihāra; and the latter word, in the ancient texts, always means a single room or lodging-place. Anātha-pindika had built the first three, King Pasenadi the last.

² Mā/o. Buddhaghosa describes this as a nisīdana-sālā, or sitting-room, built near the cottage. At the time when this Suttanta was composed it meant a thatched roof supported by wooden pillars. There were no walls to it.

³ According to the Cy. only religious teachers, religious disciples, Pacceka-Buddhas, and the Saviour Buddhas could recall their own or other previous lives, and, of the first, only those who taught Karma. Except the memories of the great Buddhas, which have no limit whatever, a limit is given in the case of each of these classes, past which they could not recall. This systematizing of a popular belief seems to indicate that, when Buddhaghosa lived, no claim to such transcendent memory was actually made among his contemporaries.

⁴ Buddhaghosa distinguishes between the 'omniscient knowledge' by which the Buddha realizes the drift of the talk in the Brahmajāla

his seat he came to the pavilion in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down he said to the brethren:— 'What is the talk on which you are engaged sitting here, and what is the subject of conversation between you?' [And they told him all.]

3. [2] Then he said:— 'Do you not wish, brethren, to hear some religious talk on the subject of former lives?'

'Now is the time, O Exalted One, now is the time, O Welcome One, for the Exalted One to give us a religious discourse on the subject of former lives. When the brethren have heard it from the Exalted One they will bear it in mind.'

'Wherefore then, brethren, hearken well to me, and I will speak.'

'So be it, lord,' replied the brethren. And the Exalted One said:—

4. 'It is now ninety-one aeons ago, brethren, since Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is now thirty-one aeons ago, brethren, since Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in that same thirty-first aeon, brethren, that Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this present auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Konâgamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that now I, an Arahant, Buddha Supreme, have arisen in the world.'

5-12. [And in like manner the rest of the statements in the following table are given in similar paragraphs.]

Suttanta ('Dialogues,' I, 2), and the divine hearing, as by a finer sense, operating here.

	Kappa, Aeon.	Jāti, Social rank.	Gotta, Family.	Length of life at that epoch.	Tree under which he became enlightened
1. Vipassi	91st from now	Noble	Kondaṇḍa	Years 80000	Pāṭali
2. Sikhi	31st from now	do.	do.	70000	Pundarikā
3. Vessabhu	do.	do.	do.	60000	Sāla
4. Kakusandha	In this aeon	Brahmin	Kassapa	40000	Sirisa
5. Konāgamana	do.	do.	do.	30000	Udumbara
6. Kassapa	do.	do.	do.	20000	Nigrodha
7. Gotama	do.	Noble	Gotama	100	Assattha

13. [8] Now not long after he had gone out, this talk arose among the brethren:—‘How wonderful a thing, brethren, and how strange is the great genius, the master mind of the Tathāgata, that he should remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle, who have escaped from all sorrow—that he should remember of these that such was their rank, such were their personal names, such were their family names, such the span of their lives, such their pair of disciples, and such the number of the congregations of their disciples, telling us:—“Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, and their clans; such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom; thus did they live, and thus they gained emancipation.” Now, what think you, brother? Has this principle of truth been clearly discerned by the Tathāgata, so that by his discernment of it he remembers [all those facts] about the Buddhas of the past? Or have gods revealed this matter to the Tathāgata, so that thereby he remembers?’

Names of two chief disciples.	Number of Arahants present at assemblies	Name of usual attendant Bhikkhu	Father.	Mother.	Birth-place
{ Khanda Tissa	{ 68 lacs 100000 80000	Asoka	Bandhumâ	Bandhumatî	Bandhumatî
{ Abhibhu Sambhava	{ 100000 80000 70000	Khemakura	Aruna	I'abhâvatî	Pabhâvatî
{ Sona Uttara	{ 80000 70000 60000	Upasannaka	Suppatita	Yasavatî	Anopama
{ Vidhûra Sañjîva	40000	Buddhija	Aggidatta	Visâkhiâ	Khemavatî
{ Bhîyyosa Uttara	30000	Sotthija	Yaññadatta	Uttarâ	Sobhavatî
{ Tissa Bhâradvâja	20000	Sabbamitta	Brahmadatta	Dhanavatî	Bârâvasî
{ Sâriputta Moggallâna	1250	Ânanda	Suddhodana	Mâyâ	Kapilavatthu

14. [9] Now such was the trend of the talk that was going on among the brethren when the Exalted One, rousing himself at eventide from meditation, went to the pavilion in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down, he said to the brethren :—‘ What is the talk on which you are engaged, brethren, as ye sit here, and what was the subject of conversation between you ? ’ [And they told him all.]

15. [10] ‘ It is through his clear discernment of a principle of the truth, brethren, that the Tathâgata is able to remember [all those facts about the Buddhas of old ¹]. And gods also have revealed these matters to him, enabling him to remember [all those things]. Do ye not wish, brethren, to hear yet further religious discourse bearing on former lives ? ’

[11] ‘ Now, O Exalted One, is the time, now, O Welcome One, is the time ! Whatsoever the Exalted

¹ In the text is a full repetition of the reminiscence given in § 13.

One may tell us further bearing on former lives, the brethren will listen to it and bear it in mind.'

'Wherefore, brethren, hearken and attend well, and I will speak.'

'So be it, lord,' replied the brethren. The Exalted One said:—

16. 'I have told you, brethren, when Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world, into what rank and family he was born, how long he lived, where he became a Buddha, the names of his leading disciples, the number of his disciples, the name of his ministering bhikkhu, of his father, his mother, and of their place of residence¹.

17. [12] 'Now Vipassi, brethren, when, as Bodhisat, he ceased to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, descended into his mother's womb mindful and self-possessed². That, in such a case, is the rule³.

¹ The text repeats verbatim all that was said above of Vipassi.

² This and following paragraphs (to § 30 inclusive) recur in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* (M. III, pp. 119-24). The notes appended by Dr. Neumann to his translation of that Sutta, giving parallels from Christian archaeology, are of great interest. (*Reden Gotamo Buddho's Majjhimanikāyo*, III, pp. 253 ff.) How the Birth-legend had developed in the fifth century A.D. may be seen in the *Nidānakathā*, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 62 ff.

This state of mind in Rule the first, according to a voluminous comment by Buddhaghosa, refers more to the termination of the Bodhisat's life in the Tusita heaven, than to any miraculous embryonic commencement. He is depicted as being fully aware, with his angelic neighbours, of the imminent culminating career awaiting him, and to have selected country, region, town, father and mother, on the eve of his 'fall' from heaven. He is further said to be conscious that he was *quā* god deceased:—'Thus fallen (or deceased) he knows 'I fall.' But he is not aware of his cuti-cittam, or dying thought. As to when there is awareness of re-conception, the Buddhist fathers were not agreed. But they admit that, in its content, the dawning idea was either the first, or the fifth of the eight types of 'good thought' enumerated in *Dhamma-Saṅgavī* (pp. 1, 39 of the translation). But we learn, under § 21, that there was no consciousness by way of the five senses before birth.

³ *Dhammatā*, i.e. says the Cy. in the nature, or order of things. The five old-world order of things is the Order of Karma, of the

'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat ceases to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, and enters a mother's womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples—an infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless¹, murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is made manifest this infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there², perceiving each other by that radiance, say:—"Verily there be other beings living here!" And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And that this infinite splendid radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods—that, in such a case, is the rule.

17^a. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, four sons of the gods go toward the four quarters to protect him, saying:—"Let no one, be he human, or non-human, or whatsoever he be, work harm to the Bodhisat or to the mother of the Bodhisat!" That, in such a case, is the rule.

18. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, the mother of the Bodhisat is a woman virtuous through her own nature:—averse from taking life, averse from taking what is not given, averse from unchastity, averse from

Seasons, of Life-germs, of Mind, and of the Dhamma. The last named is here implicated.

¹ Asaṁvutā. Cy.—not supported from beneath.

² In the Great Inter-world Hell. They would be undergoing purgatory for karma of grievous offences against parents and the religious world, and of cruelty to animals. Very long in body and with bats' nails, they were condemned to crawl up the Cakkavāla rock, till finding no food, they turned back and fell into the river of brine flowing round the world. Cy.

lying speech, averse from indulgence in strong drinks. That, in such a case, is the rule.

19. [13] 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother has no mind for indulgence in the pleasures of sense with men, and is incapable of transgression with any man whatever who may be enamoured of her. That, in such a case, is the rule.

20. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother is living in the enjoyment yielded by the five senses, is addicted to it, possessed of it, surrounded by it. That, in such a case, is the rule.

21. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, no ailment whatsoever befalls that mother; at ease is she and unaffected in body; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. Just as if, brethren, there were a beautiful cat's-eye gem¹, of purest water, octangular, cut with supreme skill, translucent and flawless, excellent in every way. And through it were strung a thread, blue or orange, red, white, or yellow. If a man who had eyes to see were to take it into his hand, he would clearly perceive how the one was strung on the other. Even so, brethren, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, no ailment whatever befalls that mother; at ease is she and unaffected in body; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. That, in such a case, is the rule.

22. [14] 'It is the rule, brethren, that, on the seventh day after the birth of a Bodhisat, the mother of the

¹ This simile, occurring in a similar connexion in M. III, 121, is elsewhere ('Dialogues,' I, 87; M. II, 17) applied to self-knowledge, i. e. of one's body and mind and their interdependence. The point of the simile is not the perfection of the jewel, but the clarity of vision. The myth of the visible embryo recurs in mediaeval Christian art. See Neumann, *op. cit.*; and 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 65 n.

Bodhisat dies, and rises again in the heaven of Delight. That, in such a case, is the rule.

23. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth after bearing either nine or ten months¹, the mother of a Bodhisat brings not forth till she has borne the child ten months. That, in such a case, is the rule.

24. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth sitting or reclining, the mother of a Bodhisat brings forth not so, but standing. That, in such a case, is the rule.'

25. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, gods receive him first, afterwards men². That, in such a case, is the rule.

26. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, and has not yet touched the earth, for four sons of the gods to receive him, and present him to the mother, saying :—" Rejoice, lady, for Mighty is the son that is born to thee !" That, in such a case, is the rule.

27. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, he comes forth stainless, undefiled by watery matter, undefiled by mucus, undefiled by blood, undefiled by any uncleanness whatever, pure, spotless. Just as if, brethren, a jewel were laid down on Benares muslin ; the jewel is not stained by the muslin, nor is the muslin stained by it ; and why is that ? Because of the purity of both. Even so, brethren, is it at the birth of a Bodhisat. That, in such a case, is the rule.

28. [18] 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, two showers of

¹ The Cy. holds that these disjunctives may be understood to include a term of from seven to twelve months. Seven months' embryos, it adds, live, but cannot endure heat or cold ; eight months' babes do not live—a midwife tradition that, we fancy, is still current here and now.

² Cf. the account of the birth of Gotama, 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 66, and of the *four*, not *three*, adoring kings in some early Christian bas-reliefs, Neumann, op. cit.

water appear from the sky, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they do the needful bathing of the Bodhisat and of his mother. That, in such a case, is the rule.

29. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat has come to birth, he stands firm on both feet and, with his face to the north, takes seven strides, the while a white canopy is held over him¹, and, looking around on every side, he utters as with the voice of a bull:—"Chief am I in the world, Eldest am I in the world, Foremost am I in the world! This is the last birth! There is now no more coming to be"²!'" That, in such a case, is the rule.

30. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples,—an infinite and splendid radiance passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless, murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is manifest this infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there, perceiving each other by that radiance, say:—"Verily there be other beings living here!" And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And this infinite and splendid

¹ As an emblem of sovereignty, says the Cy., in which case the emblem is usually named, not its bearers. But these were devatā, angels or fairies or gods.

² Each action of the babe had for the later Buddhists its symbolical meaning. Standing on the earth meant obtaining the Four Iddhipādas. Facing the north meant the spiritual conquest of multitudes. The seven strides were the Seven Bojjhangas. The canopy was the umbrella of emancipation. Looking around meant unveiled knowledge. The bull-cry meant the irrevocable turning of the wheel of the Truth or Law. The 'lion-roar' of 'the last birth' meant the arahantship he would attain in this life.

radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods. This, in such a case, is the rule.'

31. [16] 'When the boy Vipassi, brethren, was born, they brought word to Bandhuman the rāja saying:—"A son, my lord, is born to you! May it please you to see him?" Now when Bandhuman the rāja had seen the babe, he sent for the brahmin soothsayers¹, saying:—"Let the reverend brahmin soothsayers see the child." Then, brethren, when the brahmin soothsayers had seen the child, they said to Bandhuman the rāja:—"Rejoice, lord, for one of the Mighty Ones is born thy son! Fortune is thine, my lord, good fortune is thine, in that in thy family such a son has come to birth! For this babe, my lord, is endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man; and to one so endowed two careers lie open, and none other. If he live the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel², a righteous Lord of the Right³, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures. His do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven⁴. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, is established not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless state⁵, he becomes an Arahant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.

¹ Literally, mark-men, or augurs. See 'Dialogues,' I, 16, n. 1.

² Turner of the Wheel, the now well-known Indian symbol of empire.

³ Dhamma-rājā.

⁴ For details of each of these see below in the Mahā-Sudassana Suttanta, No. XVII.

⁵ This vigorous and picturesque idiom—*agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati*—has been here and elsewhere rendered as literally as possible.

32. "And what, my lord, are the thirty-two marks of the 'Great Man',¹ wherewith endowed this child hath two careers open to him, and only two :—that of the Lord of the Wheel . . . that of Buddha Supreme ?

[17] "This babe, my lord, has feet with level tread². That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

"On the soles of the babe's feet wheels appear with a thousand spokes, with tyre and hub, in every way complete. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

"This babe has projecting heels³,

He is long in the fingers and long in the toes⁴,

Soft and tender in hands and feet,

With hands and feet like a net⁵.

His ankles are like rounded shells⁶;

His legs are like an antelope's⁷.

Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand.

His male organs are concealed in a sheath.

His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold.

[18] His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body⁸.

¹ Given also at M. II, 136, 137. Comp. the note above Vol. I, p. 110. The whole theory is pre-Buddhistic.

² *Suppa//hita-pādo* literally, 'well-planted feet.' The traditional meaning is, that the whole under-surface touched the ground at once. The Great Man was 'flat-footed,' and did not toe or heel the ground in walking.

³ If the foot of a 'Great Man' be measured in four parts, two are taken up by the sole and toes, one is under the leg, and one is the heel projecting rearward.

⁴ And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's. Cy.

⁵ Like a lattice, says the Cy., and explains this to mean that there is no 'webbing' between fingers and toes, but that these are set in right lines, like the meshes of a net.

⁶ Ensuring the maximum of flexibility. Cy. This is desirable in sitting cross-legged.

⁷ With protuberant well-modelled joints, like an ear of rice or barley. Cy.

⁸ Hence the Buddhas only wash as an example to their followers. Cy.

The down on it grows in single hairs, one to each pore,

The small hairs on his body turn upward, every hair of it, blue-black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right.

“ This babe has a frame divinely straight ¹.

He has the seven convex surfaces ².

The front half of his body is like a lion's ³.

There is no furrow between his shoulders ⁴.

His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree :—The length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is equal to his height.

His bust is equally rounded ⁵.

His taste is supremely acute ⁷.

His jaw is as a lion's ⁶.

He has forty teeth ⁹,

Regular teeth.

Continuous,

The eye-teeth very lustrous. His tongue is very long ¹⁰.

¹ He will not stoop, nor lean backward, as if catching at the stars, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically like a golden tower-gate in a city of the gods. Cy.

² The backs of the four limbs, the shoulders and the trunk are well fleshed. Cy.

³ i.e. proportionately broad and full.

⁴ Citantaramso, lit. he has the shoulder-interval filled up. The Cy. explains, the two sides of the back have no depression in the middle, nor look separated, but from the small of the back upwards the fleshy covering is as a level golden slab.

⁵ Literally, he has the banyan circumference. It was believed that a banyan always measured the same, like the diameter of a circle, in height as in width.

⁶ Samavattakkhandho. According to the Cy. the exterior of the whole vocal apparatus is here meant, rather than the trunk or shoulders only.

⁷ Rasaggasaggi.

⁸ That is, with the lower jaw relatively fuller than the upper. Cy.

⁹ That is, the Great Man at a more adult stage has eight more than the normal thirty-two. How the learned brahmins saw these signs in the babe is not explained.

¹⁰ See 'Dialogues,' I, 131.

He has a divine voice like the karavika-bird's¹.

His eyes are intensely blue².

He has the eyelashes of a cow³.

Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole, white and like soft cotton down.

His [19] head is like a royal turban⁴.

This too counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man⁵.

33. "Endowed, my lord, as is this babe with these two-and-thirty marks of the Great Man, two careers and none other are open to him . . ." [as above, § 31] . . .

'Thereupon Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, let the brahmin soothsayers be invested with new robes and gratified their every desire.

34. 'And Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, engaged nurses for the babe Vipassi. Some suckled him, some washed him, some nursed him, some carried him about on their hip. And a white canopy was held over him day and night, for it was commanded:—"Let not cold or heat or straws or dust or dew annoy him!" And the boy Vipassi, brethren, became the darling and the beloved of the people, [20] even as a blue or red or white lotus is dear to and beloved of all, so that he was literally carried about from lap to lap⁶.

35. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, he had a lovely voice, well modulated and sweet and

¹ According to Childers, the Indian cuckoo. The Great Man's voice is very clear and pure-toned, neither worn nor broken nor harsh. Cy. Yoga-culture is to-day held to yield, as one result, a pleasant musical voice.

² Like flax-blossom. Cy. Perhaps a tradition of Aryan origin.

³ Completely surrounding the eyes, thick like a black cow's; bright and soft like a new-born red calf's. Cy.

⁴ Uñhisa-siso. This expression, says the Cy., refers to the fullness either of the forehead or of the cranium. In either case the rounded highly-developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban, and the smooth symmetry of a water-bubble.

⁵ In the text this refrain occurs after the naming of each mark.

⁶ Literally by hip to hip; women passing him from arm to arm, men from one shoulder to another, explains the Cy.

charming, just as the voice of the karavika-bird in the mountains of Himālaya is lovely and sweetly modulated and charming¹.

36. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, there was manifested in him the Heavenly Eye born of the result of his karma², by the which verily he could see as far as a league by day and eke by night.

37. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, he looked forward with unblinking eyes, like the gods in the heaven of Delight. Now it was because of this, people exclaiming "Vipassi, Vipassi"—a Seer, a Seer!—that this became his name³. And again, brethren, while Bandhūman rāja was sitting as judge, he would take the boy on his hip and so lay down the law as to the cases arising till verily the boy, thus [21] seated on his father's hip, and continually considering, would also determine the points of the matter according to justice⁴. Then at the thought "It is the babe who is judging cases aright" ever more and more did that word "a Seer, a Seer" become used as his name.

38. 'Now Bandhūman rāja, brethren, had three palaces built for the boy Vipassi, one for the rains, one for the winter and one for the summer, and he had them fitted with every kind of gratification for the five senses. Thus it came to pass that Vipassi spent

¹ The Cy. relates of the bird that it sings a flute-like song after pecking at honey and mangoes, and that the song exercises a sort of Orpheus-spell over every beast that hears it. Asandhimittā, the consort of Asoka, was converted by it. She had inquired of the Order, if it were known what the Buddha's voice was like; and on its being compared to the karavika's song, wished to hear that. Asoka sent for one, which would not sing in its cage, till a mirror was placed by it. Fancying it saw a kinsman, it sang, throwing every one into ecstasies, and so exalting the queen's idea of the Buddha's voice, that she attained 'the fruit of sotāpatti.'

² That is, not by special practice, but as the result of action in former births, as with the fairies' power of vision. Cy.

³ Vipassī refers rather to the inward vision of the seer. Vipassanā is insight or intuition.

⁴ Namely by giving signs of dissatisfaction when a decision was wrong.

the four months of the rainy season in the rains-palace, ministered to by bands of female musicians¹; and not once did he come down (from the upper terrace) into the mansion.'

Here endeth the Birth chapter.

II.

1. 'Now the young lord Vipassi, brethren, when many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by², bade his charioteer make ready the state carriages, saying:—"Get ready the carriages, good charioteer, and let us go through the park to inspect the pleasaunce." "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and harnessed the state carriages and sent word to Vipassi:—"The carriages are ready, my lord; do now what you deem to be fit." Then Vipassi mounted a state carriage, and drove out in state into the park.

2. 'Now the young lord Vipassi saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, [22] an aged man as bent as a roof gable, decrepit, leaning on a staff, tottering as he walked, afflicted and long past his prime. And seeing him Vipassi said:—"That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his hair is not like that of other men, nor his body?"

"He is what is called an aged man, my lord."

¹ Nippurisehi turiyehi. Both words are ambiguous. Childers, following B. R., who follow Wilson, renders turiya by musical instrument. It is very doubtful whether it ever means that. Music, or orchestra, seems to be required in such passages as I have noted. Nippurisa (only found as yet in this connexion) may be non-human (that is, fairy), or not male. See D. II, 171; M. I, 571; A. I, 145; Vin. I, 15; II, 180; J. I, 58, and Senart's note at Mahâvastu III, 486. The alternative rendering would therefore be 'fairy music.' But the commentator evidently takes the words in the meaning given above.

² The legendary age of humans at the time of Vipassi was 80,000 years, so that we may reckon 1000 of his years as one of ours. When this legend is afterwards related of Gotama Buddha (in the Nidânakathâ), he is said to have reached his majority (sixteen years) when the drives begin.

“But why is he called aged?”

“He is called aged, my lord, because he has not much longer to live.”

“But then, good charioteer, am I too subject to old age, one who has not got past old age?”

“You, my lord, and we too, we all are of a kind to grow old, we have not got past old age.”

“Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms¹.”

“Yea, my lord,” answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—“Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born old age shows itself like that!”

3. ‘Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the charioteer and asked him:—“Well, good charioteer, did the boy take pleasure in the park? was he pleased with it?”

“No, my lord, he was not.”

“What then did he see on his drive?”

[23] ‘[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

4. ‘Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus:—“We must not have Vipassi declining to rule. We must not have him going forth from the House into the Homeless state. We must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true.”

‘So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the youth be still more surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

5. ‘Now after many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by, the young lord Vipassi, brethren, again bade his charioteer make ready, and drove forth as once before².

6. [24] ‘And Vipassi, brethren, saw as he was driving

¹ Antepuram, or harem. Tradition adds that he ‘dismissed his womenfolk, and sat alone in his bedchamber, pierced in heart by this first dart.’

² Text repeats in full as in § 1.

to the park, a sick man, suffering and very ill, fallen and weltering in his own water, by some being lifted up, by others being dressed. Seeing this, Vipassi asked, "That man, good charioteer, what has he done that his eyes are not like others' eyes, nor his voice like the voice of other men?"

"He is what is called ill, my lord."

"But what is meant by 'ill'?"

"It means, my lord, that he will hardly recover from his illness."

"But am I too then, good charioteer, subject to fall ill; have not I got out of reach of illness?"

"You, my lord, and we too, we all are subject to fall ill, we have not got beyond the reach of illness."

"Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms."

"Yea, my lord," answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—"Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born decay shows itself like that, disease shows itself like that."

7. 'Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the charioteer and asked him:—"Well, good charioteer, did the young lord take pleasure in the park and was he pleased with it?"

"No, my lord, he was not."

"What did he see then on his drive?"

"[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

8. [25] 'Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus:—"We must not have Vipassi declining to rule; we must not have him going forth from the House to the Homeless state; we must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true."

'So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the young man be still more abundantly surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

9. 'Now once again after many years . . . the young lord Vipassi . . . drove forth.'

10. 'And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a great concourse of people clad in garments of different colours constructing a funeral pyre. And seeing them he asked his charioteer:—"Why now are all those people come together in garments of different colours, and making that pile?"

[26] "It is because some one, my lord, has ended his days."

"Then drive the carriage close to him who has ended his days."

"Yea, my lord," answered the charioteer, and did so. And Vipassi saw the corpse of him who had ended his days and asked:—"What, good charioteer, is ending one's days?"

"It means, my lord, that neither mother, nor father, nor other kinsfolk will see him any more, nor will he ever again see them."

"But am I too then subject to death, have I not got beyond the reach of death? Will neither the *râja*, nor the *ranee*, nor any other of my kin see me more, or I ever again see them?"

"You, my lord and we too, we all are subject to death, we have not passed beyond the reach of death. Neither the *râja*, nor the *ranee*, nor any other of your kin would see you any more, nor would you ever again see them."

"Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms."

"Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and drove him back.

'And he, brethren, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—"Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born the decay of life, since disease, since death shows itself like that!"

11-12. 'Thereupon *Bandhuman râja*, brethren, [questioned the charioteer as before [27], and as before let Vipassi be still more surrounded by sensuous enjoyments]. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

13. [28] 'Now once again after many years . . . the lord Vipassi . . . drove forth.

14. 'And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a shaven-headed man, a Wanderer, wearing the yellow robe. And seeing him he asked the charioteer :—"That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his head is unlike other men's heads and his clothes too are unlike those of others?"

"That is what they call a Wanderer, because, my lord, he is one who has gone forth."

"What is that, to have gone forth?"

"To have gone forth, my lord, means being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures."

"Excellent indeed [29], friend charioteer, is what they call a Wanderer, since so thorough is his conduct in all those respects. Wherefore drive up to that forthgone man."

"Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and drove up to the Wanderer. Then Vipassi addressed him, saying :—"You, master, what have you done that your head is not as other men's heads, nor your clothes as those of other men?"

"I, my lord, am one who has gone forth."

"What, master, does that mean?"

"It means, my lord, being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures."

"Excellently indeed, master, are you said to have gone forth, since so thorough is your conduct in all those respects."

15. 'Then the lord Vipassi, brethren, bade his charioteer, saying :—"Come then, good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it hence back to my rooms. But I will even here cut off my hair, and don the yellow robe, and go forth from the House into the Homeless state."

“Yea, my lord,” replied the charioteer, and drove back. But the lord Vipassi, there and then, cutting off his hair and donning the yellow robe, went forth from the House into the Homeless state.

16. ‘Now at Bandhumati, brethren, the rāja’s seat, a great number of persons—some eighty-four thousand souls¹—heard of what lord Vipassi had done, [30] and thought:—“Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the lord Vipassi himself has had his head shaved and has donned the yellow robe and has gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. If the lord Vipassi has done this, why then should not we also?” And they all had their heads shaved, and donned the yellow robes, and in imitation of Vipassi the Bodhisat they went forth from the House into the Homeless state. So Vipassi the Bodhisat went on his rounds through the villages, towns, and cities accompanied by that multitude.

17. ‘Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he was meditating in seclusion, the following consideration:—“That indeed is not suitable for me that I should live beset. ‘Twere better were I to dwell alone, far from the crowd!”

‘So after a time he dwelt alone, away from the crowd. These eighty-four thousand Wanderers went one way, and Vipassi the Bodhisat went another way.

18. ‘Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he had gone to his place², and was meditating in seclusion, the following consideration:—“Verily this world has fallen upon trouble; one is born, and grows old, and dies, and falls from one state, and springs up in another.”

¹ *Pāṇa*, ‘living creatures.’ The number is the usual idiom for a multitude, no more pretending to accuracy than our ‘a thousand thanks.’

² *Vāsupagato*. The commentary explains this as meaning ‘when seated under his Wisdom-Tree.’ But the word in the text is quite vague; and it is only the later tradition which thought it edifying to limit all such deep questions as the one discussed in the following sections to one time and place.

[31] "And from this suffering, moreover, no one knows of any way of escape, even from decay and death. O when shall a way of escape from this suffering be made known, from decay and from death!"

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this thought occurred:—"What now being present, is decay and dying also present; what conditions decay and dying?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause¹ arose the conviction through reason:—"Where birth is, there is decay and dying; birth is the condition of decay and dying."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is birth also present; what conditions birth?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"When becoming is, birth also is present; becoming is the condition of birth."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is becoming also present; what conditions becoming?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where grasping² is, there is becoming; grasping is the condition of becoming."

¹ *Yoniso manasikārā*. The Cy. paraphrases thus that interesting idiom: 'i.e. from attention to expedients (*upāya*, that is, expedients in analysis, comp. S. II, 17; III, 135; III, 53; III, 161; A. V, 111), from attention to the course [of things] (*patha*); the attention of one who is attending to impermanence and the rest [*dukkha, anattā*] as such; the attention of one who is observing the continuity, that is to say the rising and passing away, of the phenomena in question under either their positive or negative aspect.' There is here no attempt to substitute, as an equivalent for *yonī*, a term for origin or basis—*nidāna*, e.g. or *mūla*. The observation that is *yoniso* appears to Buddhaghosa to be of causation viewed as phenomenal only, as process of invariable antecedent and consequent, with application of the methods of induction known since J. S. Mill as the Methods of Agreement and Difference.

² The translating of *upādānam* must always be inadequate; we having no word to fill its dual sense of something-to-hand, *Stoff*, fuel, and a laying hold of something. If 'data,' which is etymologically akin, had chanced to be *danda*, there would have been an approximation in implication. That the term, in the commentarial tradition,

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is grasping also present; what conditions grasping?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where craving is, there is grasping; craving is the condition of grasping."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is craving also present; what conditions craving?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where feeling is, there is craving; feeling is the condition of craving."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is feeling also present; what conditions feeling?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—[32] "Where contact is, there is feeling; contact is the condition of feeling."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is contact also present; what conditions contact?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where is the sixfold field, there is contact; the sixfold field is the condition of contact¹."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is the sixfold field also present; what conditions the sixfold field?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where name-and-form is, there is the sixfold field; name-and-form is the condition of the sixfold field²."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being present, is name-and-form also present; what conditions name-and-form?"

held this active force is clear from *anupâdâya*, 'void of grasping, being paraphrased by *agahetvâ*, not having laid hold of. See also 'Psychological Ethics,' p. 322, n. 1; 'Asl.' pp. 385, 450.

¹ The sixfold field is the sphere of action of the six senses; that is, our five senses, and the representative faculty.

² *Name-and-form* is what we should call mind and body.

Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :—"Where cognition is there is name-and-form; cognition is the condition of name-and-form¹."

'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :—"What now being present, is cognition also present; what conditions cognition?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :—"Where name-and-form is, there is cognition; name-and-form conditions cognition."

19. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :—"Cognition turns back from name-and-form; it goes not beyond. Only as follows can one be born or grow old or die or fall from one condition or reappear in another; that is, in that cognition is conditioned by name-and-form, and name-and-form by cognition², the sixfold field by name-and-form, contact by the sixfold field, feeling by contact, [33] craving by feeling, grasping by craving, becoming by grasping, birth by becoming, decay and dying by birth, and so too grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair come to pass. Such is the coming to be of this entire body of Ill."

"Coming to be, coming to be!"—at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

¹ The Cy. here inquires into the omission of the two ultimate links in the 'Chain of Causation' that are given in most of the passages where the formula occurs—notably in the Nidâna Saṃyutta and in the Majjhima Nikâya (I, pp. 49-52, 261, &c.); also in Dh. S., p. 348, and Vibh., pp. 135 ff. It judges that, whereas *avijjâ* and *saṅkhârâ* relate to existence *prior* to that in which the remainder of the terms from *viññâṇam* to *jarâmaraṇam*, for any given individual, hold true, Vipassi's *vipassanâ* was confining itself to any given *present* life. Mr. Loveday, in his essay on the 'Chain,' also came to the conclusion that, to apply the links in succession to any individual life, 'ignorance' and 'the *saṅkhârâs*' must be referred to prior existence. (J. A. O. S., 1894.)

² In S. II, 114 their independence is compared to two sheaves of reeds leaning one against the other. Elsewhere—in definitions of *nâma-rupam*—*nâma* is sometimes made to include *viññâṇam*, Dh. S., pp. 341, 342, sometimes not, M. I, 53; Vibh. 136.

20. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"What now being absent, is decay and dying also absent; by the ceasing of what does decay and dying cease?" Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:—"Where birth is absent, decay and dying are absent; when birth ceases, decay and dying cease . . . Where becoming is absent, birth is absent; when becoming ceases, birth ceases . . . Where grasping is absent, becoming is absent; when grasping ceases, becoming ceases . . . Where craving is absent, grasping is absent; when craving ceases, grasping ceases . . . [34] Where feeling is absent, craving is absent; when feeling ceases, craving ceases . . . Where contact is absent, feeling is absent; when contact ceases, feeling ceases . . . Where the sixfold field is absent, contact is absent; when the sixfold field ceases, contact ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, the sixfold field is absent; when name-and-form ceases, the sixfold field ceases . . . Where cognition is absent, name-and-form is absent; when cognition ceases, name-and-form ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, cognition is absent; when name-and-form ceases, cognition ceases."

21. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"Lo! I have won to this, [35] the Way to enlightenment through insight'. And it is this, that from name-and-form ceasing, cognition ceases, and conversely; that from name-and-form ceasing, the sixfold field ceases; from the sixfold field ceasing, contact ceases; from contact ceasing, feeling ceases; from feeling ceasing, craving ceases; from craving ceasing, grasping ceases; from grasping ceasing, becoming ceases; from becoming ceasing, birth ceases; from birth ceasing, decay and dying, grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair cease. Such is the ceasing of this entire body of Ill."

¹ Literally 'the Vipassanā Way to insight.' As this is not a stock phrase in this connexion it doubtless contains a play on the name Vipassi.

"Ceasing to be, ceasing to be!"—at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

22. 'Thereafter, brethren, Vipassi the Bodhisat dwelt in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups [of individual life] depending on grasping¹:—"Such is form, such is the coming to be of form, such is its passing away; such is feeling, such is the coming to be of feeling, such is its passing away; such is perception, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away; such are the syntheses, such is their coming to be, such is their passing away; such is cognition, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away."

'And for him, abiding in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups depending on grasping, not long was it before his heart, void of grasping, was set free from the "Intoxicants²."

Here endeth the Second Portion for recitation.

¹ That is, the new individual, divisible into five constituent parts, called into being by the grasping attitude maintained during the previous life. *Khandho*, group, is rendered by 'body' in § 19—'whole body of Ill'—and, in both connexions, is always paraphrased by *râsi*, or heap. Buddhist Pluralism turned away from unifying concepts, and chose to picture organic processes under aggregates. The concept is not so atomistic as we might think, the 'heap' referring to past and potential repetition of process.

² This is the standing phrase for the attainment, not of Buddhahood, but of Arahantship. Nevertheless Vipassi is henceforth called a Buddha. Compare what is said above, p. 2. On the *Âsavas*, here rendered Intoxicants, see above, Vol. I, pp. 92, 93. The Jain use of the term is referred to by Bhandarkar, 'Report, &c.', p. 100. Other Pâli references are J. IV, 222, 3 and A. I, 124, 7, which confirm the suggested connotation of a poisonous, intoxicating drug.

III.

1. 'Then to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, brethren, this occurred¹:—"What if I were now to teach the Truth²."

'Then to him, brethren, this occurred³:—[36] "I have penetrated this Truth, deep, hard to perceive, hard to understand, calm, sublime, no mere dialectic⁴, subtle, intelligible only to the wise. But this is a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein. And for a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein, this were a matter hard to perceive, to wit, that this is conditioned by that, and all that happens is by way of cause⁵. This too were a matter hard to discern:—The tranquillization of all the

¹ The following episode occurs also in Vinaya I, 4 (translated in Vin. Texts, I, 84-8), and M. I, 167-9 (translated by Dr. Neumann, 'Reden G. Buddho's, Mittlere Sammlung,' I, pp. 268 ff.), and S. I, 137-41.

² Dhamma, more literally the Norm. On this difficult but all-pervading term see Rh. D. 'American Lectures,' pp. 2, 38, and 'Buddhist India,' 292-4.

³ In the eighth week, says the Cy, after his attainment of Buddhahood, the intervening weeks having been spent in places corresponding to those where Gotama Buddha is alleged, in the Nidānakathā, to have spent them. Rh. D. 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 105-9. But there is nothing in the text to confirm this.

⁴ See 'Dialogues,' I, 26:—"not to be grasped by mere logic"—*atakkāvacaro*. 'Only by *ñāṇa*—knowledge, insight—adds the Cy. Takka, meaning fundamentally thinking, is perhaps too much honoured, in the meaning it had come to bear, by being rendered 'logic.' In the Takka-jātaka, e.g. where the soubriquet 'takka-paṇḍita,' date-sage, is considered by Mr. Chalmers to imply a word-play on date and logic, the pundit's occupation is said to be foretelling 'what were lucky and unlucky seasons' to villagers for pay. Such low crafts, however, are not classed as takka in the 'Moralties' list of Dialogues, I, pp. 16 ff. And it is very possible that 'takka' conveyed, to the religious mind of that day, much the same that so-called 'mere logic' or 'sophistry' does at the present time.

⁵ *Idapaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo*:—more literally, that conditionedness, genesis by way of cause. The second term implies the universal law, the first is its application to any given case.

activities of life¹, the renunciation of all substrata of rebirth, the destruction of craving, the death of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvana. And if I were now to teach the Truth, and other men did not acknowledge it to me, that would be wearisome to me, that would be hurtful to me."

2. 'And then verily, brethren, to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme were revealed on the spur of the moment² these verses unheard of before:—

"This that through many toils I've won—
Enough! why should I make it known?
By folk with lust and hate consumed
Not this the Truth that can be grasped!
Against the stream of common thought,
Deep, subtle, difficult, delicate,
Unseen 'twill be by passion's slaves
Cloaked in the murk of ignorance³."

'In these words, brethren, pondering over the matter, did the heart of Vipassi incline to be averse from exertion and not to preach the Truth. Thereupon to one of the Great Brahmās⁴, when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, [37] this occurred:—"Alas! the world will perish! Utterly alas! will the world perish, now that the heart of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, inclines to be averse from exertion and not towards preaching the Truth!"

¹ i.e. of the *sankhāras* of actions, speech and thoughts. 'When Nirvana is reached,' says the Cy., 'all their diffusions are calmed. So too all cravings are destroyed, all evil passions are quenched, all suffering ceases.' For Buddhaghosa, Vipassi's 'Truth' is the calm and detachment of the intellectually and ethically free man.

² *Anacchariyā*, i.e. *anu-acchar-iyā*, instantaneous; analogous to the Greek ἀνὰ χρόνον, and similar to the later ἐν δρόμῳ of the New Testament (1 Cor. xv. 52). The expression is frequently used of the Buddha's similes.

³ Ignorance, not explicit in the text, is usually symbolized by darkness—*tamokkhandho*—and is so referred to in the Cy.

⁴ 'Although merely referred to,' says the Cy., 'as one among them, he is to be understood as the chief Great-Brahmā in this universe.' But the title of *Sahampati*, given in the *Vinaya* and *Majjhima* versions, seems to be a later gloss.

3. 'Then, brethren, did that Great Brahmâ, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Brahma world and appear before Vipassi. And the Great Brahmâ, brethren, draping his outer robe over one shoulder and stooping his right knee to the ground, raised his joined hands towards Vipassi the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme and said:—"Lord! may the Exalted One preach the Truth! May the Welcome One preach the Truth! There are beings whose eyes are hardly dimmed by dust, they are perishing from not hearing the Truth; they will come to be knowers of the Truth."

4. 'At these words, brethren, Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, spoke thus to the Great Brahmâ:—"To me too, O Brahmâ, did it occur:—"What if I now were to preach the Truth? But I judged that the world was not fit for it, would not acknowledge it; and that that would be wearisome for me, hurtful for me' . . . [38] And so, O Brahmâ, pondering over the matter, my heart inclined to be averse from exertion, and not towards preaching the Truth."

5. 'But this Great Brahmâ, brethren, addressed Vipassi a second time . . .

6. ' . . . and again a third time, saying:—"Lord! let the Exalted One preach the Truth! Let the Welcome One preach the Truth! There are beings whose eyes are but hardly dimmed with dust; they are perishing from not hearing the Truth; they will come to be knowers of the Truth!"

'Then, brethren, when Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, became aware of the entreaty of the Brahmâ, because of his pitifulness towards all beings, he looked down over the world with a Buddha's Eye¹. And so looking, brethren, he saw beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust.

¹ On the super-normal sense of a Buddha, one of his ten *balas* or powers, see 'Vibhanga,' p. 340.

and beings whose eyes were much dimmed with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, some among them discerning the danger in rebirth and in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing. As in a pond of blue, or red, or white lotuses, some lotus-plants born in the water grow up in the water, do not emerge from the water, but thrive sunken beneath; and other lotus-plants, born in the water and grown up in the water, reach to the level; while other lotus-plants born in the water and grown up in the water, stand thrusting themselves above the water, undrenched by it; [39] even so, brethren, did Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, look down over the world with a Buddha's Eye, and see beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust, and beings whose eyes were dim with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, and some among them discerning the danger in rebirth in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing.

7. 'Thereupon that Great Brahmâ, brethren, when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, spoke to him in verse¹ :—

"As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,

A man might watch the people far below,

E'en so do thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending,

O Seer of all, the terraced heights of Truth,

Look down, from grief released, upon the nations

Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age.

Arise, thou Hero! Conqueror in the battle!

Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim band!

Walk the world o'er, sublime and blessed Teacher²!

Teach us the Truth; there are who'll understand."

¹ The following verses and the response are otherwise arranged in the Vinaya and Majjhima versions, in the former immediately following the deity's petition, in the latter immediately following the lotus simile.

² In the text simply, O Exalted (or Blessed) One;—practically the only expression not literally reproduced.

' Thereupon, brethren, Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, made response in verse to that great Brahmâ :—

" Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana ¹!

Let those that hear renounce their empty faith ²!

Despairing of the weary task, O Brahmâ,

I spake not of this doctrine, sweet and good, to men."

' Then, brethren, that Great Brahmâ thinking :—

" Verily I am the one by whom an opening has been given for the preaching of the Truth by Vipassi the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme," [40] bowed down before Vipassi, and passing round him by the left vanished away.

8. ' Then to Vipassi, brethren, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, this occurred :—" To whom now should I first preach the Truth? Who will quickly understand this doctrine?" And he thought :—" There is *Khandā* a rāja's son, and Tissa, the chaplain's son, both dwelling at Bandhumati. They are learned, open-minded and wise, and for long have had but little dust in their eyes. If I were now to teach the Truth first to them, they would quickly understand it." Thereupon, brethren, did Vipassi, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Wisdom Tree and appear in the Sanctuary, in the deer-park at Bandhumati ³.

9. ' And Vipassi, brethren, bade the park-keeper, saying :—" Ho you, good park-keeper, go into Ban-

¹ *Amatassa dvârá*; literally the doors of ambrosia. On this term see Appendix I. Cf. also M. I, 227 :—*amatadvâram*. 'Wide-flung the living gate, the safe (road) leading to Nirvana.'

² *Pamuficantu saddham*. The expression is ambiguous. Oldenberg, 'Vinaya Texts,' I, 88, renders it 'Let them send forth faith to meet it.' We think it means let them give up their faith in rites, and gods, and ceremonies, with especial references to the offerings to the dead. Comp. R. O. Franke in Z. D. M. G., 1909, p. 7.

³ Tradition apparently identified this with Isipatana, the deer-park, in Gotama Buddha's time, at Benares, and attributed the name *Khema* to the park as having been given as a deer-preserve, or refuge. Cy.

dhumatī and tell *Khanda* the *rāja's* son, and *Tissa* the chaplain's son, that :—*Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, has arrived at *Bandhumati* and abides in the *Khema* deer-park. He wishes to see you." "Ay, my lord," replied the park-keeper, and went to *Bandhumati* and gave this message to *Khanda* and *Tissa*.

10. [41] 'Then they, ordering out their state carriages, mounted, and drove out from *Bandhumati* to the deer-park. As far as there was a road they drove, and then alighting went on foot into the presence of *Vipassi*. And being come they saluted *Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and seated themselves beside him.

11. 'To them *Vipassi* discoursed in due order¹; that is to say, he gave them illustrative talk on generosity, on right conduct, on heaven, on the danger, the vanity and the defilement of lusts, on the advantages of renunciation. When the Exalted One saw that they had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that Truth which the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of Sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did *Khanda* and *Tissa* obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and stainless Eye for the Truth, and they knew :—"Whatsoever has a beginning, in that is also inherent the necessity of passing away."

12. 'Then they having seen the Truth, won the Truth, understood the Truth, sounded the depths of Truth, having crossed the waters of doubt and put away perplexity, having gained full confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching of the Master, addressed *Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and said :—

' "Most excellent, lord, most excellent, lord! Just

¹ Cf. 'Dialogues,' I, p. 135.

as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms,—even so has the truth been made known in many a figure by the Exalted One. We here, lord, betake ourselves to the Exalted One [42] as our guide, and to the Truth. May we be suffered to go forth from the world under the Exalted One, may we be suffered to obtain ordination."

13. 'And so, brethren, *Khanda* the *rāja's* son and *Tissa* the chaplain's son obtained retreat and ordination under *Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Them did *Vipassi* instruct, arouse, incite and gladden with religious discourse, making clear the danger, the vanity and the corruption of component things, and the advantage in *Nirvana*. And they thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set free from the Intoxicants.

14. 'Now a great multitude, brethren, of the inhabitants of *Bandhumati*—some 84,000 souls—heard that *Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, had come to *Bandhumati* and was staying at the Sanctuary (*Khema*), in the deer-preserve; and how *Khanda* the *rāja's* son and *Tissa* the chaplain's son, had actually at his instigation shaved their heads and put on the yellow robe, and had gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. And hearing it they thought:—"Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the *rāja's* son and the chaplain's son have had their heads shaved, have donned the yellow robe and gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. *Khanda* and *Tissa* have indeed done this; why then should not we?"

'So all that multitude came out from *Bandhumati* to see *Vipassi*, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and when they were in his presence they saluted him and sat down by him.

15. [43] 'And to them Vipassi discoursed, even as he had discoursed to Khandā and Tissa. . . .

16. 'And they too as those . . . who have gained full confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching of the Master, addressed Vipassi even as Khandā and Tissa had done, asking that they might obtain ordination.

17. 'And so, brethren, those 84,000 souls obtained retreat and ordination under Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Them did Vipassi instruct, arouse, incite and gladden with religious discourse, [44] making clear the danger, the vanity and the corruption of component things, and the advantages in Nirvana. They thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set free from the Intoxicants.

18. 'Now a great multitude, brethren, of recluses—some 84,000—heard from the former multitude of Vipassi's visitation. And they, too, went out from Bandhumatī to see him.

19. 'And to them did Vipassi likewise discourse, and it happened even so with them.

20, 21. [45] ' . . . and their hearts too ere long were set free from the Intoxicants.

22. 'Now at that time, brethren, a vast company of bhikkhus¹ was staying at Bandhumatī. And to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, as he meditated in solitude, this idea arose in his mind:—
"There is now a vast company of bhikkhus dwelling at Bandhumatī. What if I were now to grant leave to the bhikkhus and say:—'Fare ye forth, brethren, on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world, to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly; go in pairs; teach ye, brethren, [46] the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in

¹ *Aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ sata-sahassam*—6,800,000—is the literal figure given. See p. 39.

its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth. Moreover after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumati, the royal residence, there to recite the summary of the Rules of the Order¹."

23. 'Now one of the Great Brahmás, brethren, when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahma-world and appeared in the presence of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Then, draping his outer robe over one shoulder, he raised his joined hands towards the Exalted One, saying:—"Even so, O Exalted One! Even so, O Welcome One! Let the Exalted One thus grant leave to this great company of bhikkhus, as he has a mind to do . . . Moreover we too, lord, will do even as the bhikkhus after every six years have passed; we will come to Bandhumati there to recite the Pátimokkha."

'Thus, brethren, spake that Great Brahmá. And bowing down before the Exalted One, he passed round by the left, and forthwith disappeared.

24, 25. [47] 'Then Vipassi, brethren, arose towards eventide from his meditations and told the bhikkhus [of what he had deliberated and of the visitation of the Great Brahmá].

26. [48] "'I grant ye leave, brethren! Fare ye forth on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world and to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly but in pairs; teach ye,

¹ Pátimokkha, literally the Disburdenment. The text as we have it (translated in 'Vinaya Texts,' Vol. I) dates only from the times of early Buddhism, and it is not likely that this technical name used as the title was much older.

brethren, the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter ; proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth ; they will become knowers of the Truth. Moreover, brethren, after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumati, there to recite the Pâtimokkha."

' Then those bhikkhus, brethren, for the most part on that very day, set forth on their mission among the people.

27. ' Now at that time, brethren, there was a very great number of religious dwellings in Jambudîpa—some 84,000. As one year was drawing to a close the angels proclaimed the news :—" Ho, friends ! one year is ending ; now five years remain. At the end of five years we have to go to Bandhumati to recite the Pâtimokkha."

' And [this they did at the close of each remaining year, proclaiming] at the end of the sixth year :—" Ho, friends ! The six years are at an end. Now is the time for us to go to Bandhumati to recite the Pâtimokkha." Then, brethren, those bhikkhus, some by their own magic power, some by the magic power of the gods, on that very day came to Bandhumati to recite the Pâtimokkha.

28. [49] ' Then verily, brethren, did Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, thus rehearse a Pâtimokkha :—

" How may ye best the flesh subdue ?

Be patient, brethren, be forbearing.

What is the highest, what the best ?

Nirvana, brethren, say the Buddhas.

For he's no Wanderer who harms

His fellow man ; he's no recluse

Who works his neighbour injury.

Work ye no evil ; give yourselves to good ;

Cleanse ye your hearts,—so runs the Buddhas' word.

Blame not, strike not, restrain self in the Law,
With temperance eat, lonely seek rest and sleep,
Given to thoughts sublime,—so runs the Buddhas'
word¹."

29. [50] 'At one time I, brethren, was dwelling at Ukkatthâ, in the Delectable Wood, beneath a giant sâl tree. Now to me as I meditated in solitude this idea arose in my mind:—"There is but one abode of beings easily accessible that I have not dwelt in for a very long time, and that is among the gods of the Pure Mansions². What if I were now to repair thither? Then, brethren, as a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, so did I vanish from beneath the giant sâl tree in the Delectable Wood at Ukkatthâ and appear among the gods of the Aviha heaven. In that group of gods, brethren, several thousands of them came up to me, and saluting me, stood by and spake thus:—

"Friend, it is now ninety-one aeons since Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. Vipassi, friend, was of the noble class and was born in a noble family. Vipassi, friend, was by family a Kondañña. . . . The span of life in his time, friend, was 80,000 years. He attained enlightenment, friend, under a trumpet-flower tree. His chief disciples, friend, were a pair named Khanda and Tissa. [51] He had, friend, three companies of disciples, sixty-eight lacs, one lac, and eighty thousand in number. His special attendant, friend, was named Asoka. His father was the rāja Bandhuman, whose ranee, Bandhumatt, was his mother, and whose seat was the town of Bandhu-

¹ These verses, except lines 8 and 9, have been included in the Dhammapada 184-6.

² The Suddhâvâsâ devâ comprise the five highest spheres of celestials in the so-called Rûpa loka, i.e. the universe of Form, the five being named successively in the text. Beyond these five heavens were yet four spheres of the Formless. The following paragraphs develop the assertion on p. 7: 'And gods also have revealed these matters to him.' . . .

mati. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we being of those who have lived the holy life under Vipassi our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here."

30. 'And again, brethren, in that group of gods, several thousands of them . . .¹. And again, brethren, several hundreds of them came up to me, and saluted, and stood on one side, and said :—"Friend! in this fortunate aeon the Exalted One has now arisen in the world as an Arahant, Buddha Supreme. The Exalted One, friend, is of noble birth, born in a clan of nobles, in a family with Gotama for surname. Small, friend, is the span of life in the Exalted One's time, [52] brief and soon past; he who is longlived lives a hundred years more or less. The Exalted One, friend, became a Buddha under an aspen tree. He has, friend, two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, a glorious pair. He has had one assembly, friend, of disciples, 1250 in number, and in this company all are arahants. He has for attendant, friend, for chief attendant, one named Ānanda. His father, friend, is the rāja Suddhodana, whose wife Māyā is his mother, and whose seat is the town of Kapilavatthu. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we, friend, being of those who lived the holy life under our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here."

31, 32. 'Thereafter, brethren, I resorted, not only to the Aviha gods, but also to the home of the Cool gods; and so, including both the Aviha gods and the

¹ The text here is greatly abbreviated. It is intended that numbers of the gods claim to have been, in a previous birth, the followers of each successive Buddha; and § 29 is to be understood, in full, for each Buddha. The full text is given, as usual, for the first and last cases only.

Cool gods¹, I came to the home of the Fair gods². Then on, including thus the Aviha and Cool and Fair gods, I came to the home of the Wellsceing gods.³ And yet on, including thus Aviha and Cool and Fair and Wellseeing gods, till I came to the home of the Senior gods. [And in each of these heavens numbers of the gods accosted me and told me of their previous birth under Vipassi and the following Buddhas down to the present one, myself.]

33. [53] 'Thus, brethren, through his clear discernment of that principle of the Truth, is the Tathâgata able to remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle, who have escaped from all sorrow,—so that he can remember as to their birth, their names, their families, [54] the span of life usual in their time, their pair of disciples, and their congregations of disciples, and can say:—"Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, their families, such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom; how they lived and how they gained emancipation."' "

Thus spake the Exalted One. And the brethren, pleased at heart, rejoiced at the word of the Exalted One.

¹ The Cy. interprets as active:—*na kañci sattam tapentfti*—they torment no one.

² Paraphrased as 'lovely to look at, beautiful, charming.'

³ Paraphrased as 'because they see vividly the beautiful vision of the former.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHÂ-NIDÂNA-SUTTANTA.

THE doctrine of Paṭicca-samuppāda—that all dhammā (phenomena physical and mental) are paṭticasamuppannā (happen by way of cause) finds in the following Suttanta the fullest exposition accorded to it throughout the Piṭakas. It is true that for some reason (cf. p. 26, *n.* 1) the Dīghabhāṇakas (recorders of the Dīgha-Nikāya) excluded the first two of the Twelve Nidānas—avijjā, saṅkhārā—and that, in the Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma, the formula is reiterated and analysed with greater variety of presentation. But in the present instance the doctrinal contents are more fully worked out. There is another feature in this Dīgha exposition which seems to us of no little significance.

But before discussing this feature, we would point to yet another factor in the statement of the chain of the Nidānas which does not find a place in the Nidāna-Suttanta. This is the schematized, or abstract formula of the whole sequence, showing the logic of it without the contents—‘That being thus, this comes to be, from the coming to be of that, this arises. That being absent, this does not happen, from the cessation of that, this ceases.’ (M. II, 32.) In the other Nikāyas the scheme usually precedes the full formula, and in one case where the principle of the latter is called ‘the Dhamma,’ *supersedes* the formula. It is on all fours with the modern formulation of the law of causation—‘That every event is the result or sequel of some previous event, or events, without which it could not have happened, and which, being present, it must take place.’

The significant feature is this:—although the formula, as expounded in this Suttanta, ends in the usual way—‘Such is the uprising of this whole body of Ill’—the burden of the Dialogue is in no way directly concerned with Ill, pain or sorrow. In certain other passages, on the other hand, where the Nidāna-chain occurs, dukkha occupies the foreground. Thus in A. I, 177, the formula of the Paṭicca-samuppāda is rehearsed to explain the Aryan Truth of the uprising of Ill.

In M. I, 190 the context of the formula is an exhortation by Sāriputta on the primary importance of a right attitude towards, and understanding of, the nature and causes of Ill, so that the brethren may meet persecutions—ills not due to their own ill deeds—with fortitude and serenity. In the Nidāna-Samyutta of the Samyutta-Nikāya, all the contexts of the formula known to the compilers are grouped together. Of the ninety-three brief Suttas of which this division consists, only one-sixth of those in which the formula occurs, have Dukkha (or its opposite) for their subject. A *slightly* larger *proportion* of the Suttas (16) are so many statements upholding the truth of the evolution of phenomena by way of natural causation. That any being exists absolutely and eternally is at the same time denied. And that any being ever perishes absolutely is equally denied. Of the remaining Suttas, four, in which Loka, the world of sense-perception, is substituted in the Paṭicca-samuppāda for Dukkha, belong virtually to the foregoing sixteen. Seven are concerned with rebirth, eight are ethical exhortations to destroy Craving, and *thirty-six* emphasize the importance of mastering the *principle* of the Paṭicca-samuppāda. That holds the key to insight; to understand it is therefore the test of true knowledge and sound doctrine. This too is the point in Samyutta V, 387-9, where the formula again occurs. Once more, in the very strongly emphasized rehearsal of the formula in the 'Great Tanhā-sankhaya-Sutta' of M. I, 256, the doctrine there inculcated is not in any way hedonistic, sentimental or, directly, moral. It has nothing to say about Dukkha. It is a repudiation of the belief in any permanent, transmigrating intelligent principle (viññāna) in man, and the affirmation of the contrary view—that viññāna is a contingent phenomenon, a happening by way of cause and effect, something that 'becomes' and dies away.

Dukkha, on the other hand, and the causes of it—'evam . . . samudayo'—holds, in nearly every case, the last word in this notable formula. And according to the Buddhist records, as told in the preceding Suttanta, the fact and sequence of those causes dawn ever on the mind of every Buddha in response to the anguished questionings of his mind brooding over the misery of the world, and of the infinite living and dying in it.

Hence in trying to account adequately for the profound significance and high importance attached by the founders of Buddhism to the doctrine of the Paṭicca-samuppāda, we need to keep in view this dual aspect of it—that it is a way of explaining phenomena, and that the most interesting phenomenon

to be explained is that of Dukkha¹. The latter standpoint is that of man as recipient or percipient, the former, that of man as intellectual or interpreting.

Now if to this twofold aspect we add that of man as reacting, by will and deed, to his impressions and his interpretations, and take the Buddha's doctrine of the Eightfold Path, as the corresponding formula, we have not only the whole of Early Buddhism in a nutshell, but also just those points concerning which we find the most emphatic affirmations of Dhamma as Dhamma ascribed to Gotama—

'Both in the past and now do I set forth *just this*—"dukkha and the cessation of dukkha"².

'Let us put aside questions of the Beginning and the End. I will teach you the Dhamma:—That being thus, this comes to be. From the coming to be of that, this arises. That being absent, this does not happen. From the cessation of that, this ceases³.

'There is a Middle Path . . . discovered by the Tathāgata (discovered by none but a Tathāgata, S. V, 14) . . . this Aryan Eightfold Path . . .⁴ This Path, my friend, is the religious life (brahmacariya)⁵.

These three central tenets are put, by our earliest and best authorities, in these or other words, into the mouth of Gotama himself at the very outset of his career, in his first sermon, as the doctrine of the Four Aryan or Noble Truths. And the Pañicca-samuppāda, with its positive formula of uprising (Samudaya), and its negative formula of passing away (Nirodha), covers the ground staked out by the second and third of these Truths. It is frequently quoted in this connexion⁶, and its importance in the Dhamma is thereby made the more evident.

But the reason for that importance only becomes clear, when we look away from the dukkha to which the formula is

¹ It is regrettable that later Buddhist teaching, yielding to this fact of 'interest,' obscured the great causal principle taught by Gotama, through the simile of a wheel, so as to include the *vaṭṭa*, or round of Saṃsāra. A ladder or stairway (*nisseṇi*), like that used to illustrate the way to see Brahmā ('Dialogues,' I, 308, Tevijja-Sutta), would have been more appropriate.

² M. I, 140.

³ Ib. II, 32. Cf. ib. I, 190, where Sāriputta says—'The Exalted One has said, that he who sees the Pañicca-samuppāda, sees the Dhamma, and he who sees the Dhamma sees the Pañicca-samuppāda.'

⁴ Vin. I, 10.

⁵ S. V, 15.

⁶ e.g. S. II, 14-16, 28, 29, 57-9, 108, 109, 129-31, A. I, 177.

so often applied, away too from the antecedents of dukkha, and consider all that is implied in the Paṭicca-samuppāda by way of method and *Weltanschauung*.

If we persist in viewing either Dukkha or its causes as the 'secret' of the doctrine, we might omit the formula altogether, since the nature and cause and effect of each nidāna is fully taught in each Nikāya. Nor is the order of sequence the main tenet. Frequent liberties are taken in the Canon with both order and number of nidānas¹. Nor finally could the arrangement of antecedents and consequences in an iterated rigmarole (convenient for oral transmission) appeal with the runic force of a Shibboleth to a movement of thought like that of Buddhism, any more than would the similarly arranged fragment of formula contained in the Sāṅkhya Kārikā have appealed, as such, to the followers of that school. No reformers who so carefully purged their literature of all the 'eulalic' reiterations of Om! Hari! and the rest, that so throng the pages of the Upanishads, would care a brass farthing for any 'accumulative jingle' accounting for things after the fashion of the widely spread pre-historic folk-rune, 'The cat began to kill the rat, the rat began to gnaw the rope,' &c. . . . 'and so the old woman got home that night.' *Evam etassa*, &c.

It was not the fact of Dukkha, nor the fairly obvious conditions of birth and so on, leading up to it, that come as a revelation to each Buddha, beneath his Bo-tree. It was the process of *samudaya* and *nirodha* as a natural and universal law. 'Coming to pass! Coming to pass! At that thought there arose in me a Vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, insight, wisdom, light arose².' Not uncaused and casually, nor by the fiat of *Īcvara*—Indra, Soma, Varuna, Brahmā³—did events happen, painful or otherwise; not as Job and the Psalmist taught—'God distributeth sorrows in his anger.' For 'God is a righteous judge, and God is angry every day⁴.' Events came impelled by preceding conditions, causes that man could by intelligence and good will, study and govern, suspend or intensify⁵.

¹ e.g. this Suttanta omits the first two. In 'Dialogues,' I, p. 53 (Brahmajāla S.), the first five are omitted, so also in S. II, 92. S. II, 101, instead of the usual order of the twelve nidānas, gives 3, 4, 2, 11, 12 only, and in this order. In M. I, 191, a *different* group of antecedents are said to have dukkha as their consequence—desire, attachment, indulgence, lusting after.

² See above, p. 26.

³ See 'Dialogues,' I, p. 310.

⁴ Job xxi. 17, Ps. vii. 2.

⁵ Cf. herewith Prof. Oltramare's 'La Formule bouddhique des douze

Thus Buddhaghosa, in explaining the name *Paṭicca-samup-pāda*¹, points out that it *excludes* all theories of absolutism, nihilism, chance, irregular causation², and indeterminism³. And of such theories, it is concerning the implied rejection of the first two that he is most explicit. Namely, that there is no persistent ego reaping results in one life sown as causes in a previous life, and that it is not a different, an alien ego either, which reaps. The latter person (*attabhāva*) is the resultant, the creature, the 'evolute' of the former. Thus faithfully was the tradition of the *Piṭakas* preserved, wherein the view of *viññāna* as a persistent ego was categorically contradicted in the words *anekapariyāyena paṭicca-samuppanna* (causally evolved in various ways). M.I, 256.

Let it be remembered that the 'immanent' absolutism opposed by Buddhism was chiefly the Brahmanic theosophy. According to this, the *âtman* of the individual was not so much an efflux of the World-Âtman, as was the latter immanent in, and identified with, each man-soul. 'In the beginning this world was only Soul, in the shape of a man . . . world-guardian, world-lord, this that is My Soul⁴.' 'My Soul' was therefore, in that theosophy, the personal First

causes' (Genève, 1909), which we have had the good fortune to read before going to press. 'Le Bouddha a voulu apprendre . . . que la misère ne vient point à l'homme de quelque agent externe échappant à sa prise, et qu'elle n'est pas non plus inhérente à une substance immuable, ce qui la rendrait elle-même incurable. . . . Le Pratiṭyasa-samutpāda est une tentative d'expliquer la qualité de la vie, sans qu'interviennent ni la notion d'âme, ni la notion de Dieu,' &c. And yet to these luminous remarks he prefixes the statement, that the Buddha certainly did not wish to affirm any formula of universal causality, since that theory *n'intéresse que l'homme*. To us it seems that precisely for this reason it would be the object of the quest of him men called the *Naruttama*, the *Aggapuggala*—the supreme Man—who combined 'philosophical curiosity' or rather, insight, with the practical bent of a saviour of men.

¹ Visuddhi-Magga, ch. xvii.

² Visama-hetu-vādo. Warren translates this 'heresy of existences due to an over-ruling power.' Buddhism did virtually reject an *Issara*, but scarcely in such terms as those above.

³ Vasavattivādo. Warren has 'self-determining existences.'

⁴ Cf. H. Oldenberg, 'Buddha' (London, 1882). 'Where there is no being, but only becoming, it is not substance, but only a law, which can be recognized as the first and the last.' The significance of the *Paṭicca-samuppāda* as the discerning of such a law has found adequate emphasis in this scholar's work.

⁵ *Bṛhad. Up.* I, 4. 1; *Kaush. Up.* III, 8.

Cause and Final Cause. And hence the *Paṭicca-samuppāda* of Buddhism was as decided a negation of all teleology as was the theorem of Demokritus and his master Leukippus, that 'nothing happens by chance, but everything through a cause and of necessity' ¹.

Had the fates been kinder to the writings of the Atomist of Abdera, had the 'teleological reaction' not been led by two men of such extraordinary genius as Plato and Aristotle, it is conceivable that the whole philosophy, not to say the Dhamma, of the West, might have flowed along a channel in which the influence of the *mikros* and the *meḡas Diakosmos* might have brought both that philosophy and that Dhamma more nearly parallel to the informing principle of the *Paṭicca-samuppāda*. As it happened, Europe learned from Athens compromise and comprehensiveness, learned to believe in a universe governed partly by necessity and partly by chance, learned to combine belief in unchanging natural law with belief in first and final causes.

And so gradually has the realm of regular, causal sequence encroached upon that of the casual and the arbitrary, that on no period in the intellectual development of Europe can we place our finger and say:—Here the concept of a universe governed, as to its every movement and happening, by natural causation, was brought home to the minds of men,—to the mind of one man. There is nothing resembling the intellectual earthquake caused half a century ago by that extension of the law of causation: the theory of evolution. Or was there some such milestone of rational development reached, when Demokritus formulated the philosophy of Atomism, and won renown as a great prophet and teacher of mankind?

In the history of Indian thought, on the other hand, we can point to such an epoch-making crisis, we can discern the significance of the law of universal causation breaking in on a great mind with a flash of intuition. The law, we read, stands as fundamental, whether Tathāgatas have arisen or not. But the Tathāgata penetrates and masters it and delivers the knowledge thereof to the world ².

¹ Lange, 'History of Materialism,' I, ch. 1. Demokritus flourished apparently about half a century after the Buddha's death. See also Vis. Magga XVII: 'the wheel of becoming is without known beginning, lacking both maker (*kāraṇa*) . . . such as Brahmā . . . and percipient (*vaḍaṇa*) "I." For each consequent proceeds by reason of its antecedent.'

² S. II, 25.

No such crisis of thought is patent in the literature of the Brahmins, though that literature extends over practically the whole era of Indian culture. Those Upanishads which are ranked as the oldest show a naïf animism: those ranked later reveal thought attained to relative maturity¹. But there is no evidence of a transition causing a mental upheaval. In the seventy-two stanzas of the Sāṅkhya Kārikā, again, 25 per cent. contain some consciously generalized affirmation respecting cause and effect. The abstract causal concept shows as a well-matured instrument of metaphysical thought. Throughout the Yoga Sūtra too we find allusions to causality as an abstract idea². It is only in the Buddhist Nikāyas that we come up against the actual effort itself of the human mind to get at a more scientific view of world-order,—an effort which is marked with the freshness and vigour of a new fetch of intellectual expansion, and the importance and gravity of which is affirmed with the utmost emphasis, both in the earliest records and in the orthodox literature of ten centuries later.

The significance of the *Piṛakas*, as the vehicle of this evolutionary cry of travail and new birth, is not minimized by the objection, that a gospel promulgated by laymen (*Khattiyas*), and preached to the man in the street, would naturally regard, as truths new and wonderful, axioms which, to the more esoteric, philosophical schools of the day, were the common-places of dialectical metaphysic. For we have shown that, in the one case where such a school has preserved its ancient literature, we find books of pre-causational and post-causational thought, but nothing indicating that the conviction of a law of universal natural causation was taking birth. The aphorisms, constituting the oldest existing survivals of Yoga and Sāṅkhya thought, reveal no inner evolution of philosophic progress, and no traces of early animistic culture such as appear in certain of the Upanishads. Most of the Jain literature still awaits its editor, but we have Dr. Jacobi's learned authority for it, that, in spite of an atomistic theory of some interest, its philosophy was crude, animistic and mere 'common

¹ Cf. *Aitareya Up.* 'The *Âtman* deliberated: I will send forth worlds—he then formed the person . . . he brooded over him, and . . . a mouth burst forth like an egg'—with *Çvetāśvatara Up.* 'Should time, or nature, or necessity, or chance, or the elements, or the Person be considered as *the cause*?'

² In one passage (IV, 11), the statement takes the *form* of the negative part of the Buddhist formula. 'As the *saṅkhāras* are collected by cause, effect, substratum, and support, therefore *through the absence of these, there is an absence of the saṅkhāras*'

sense.' It is not likely therefore that the *Angas* which are still inedited will reveal any conception of causation possessing deep philosophical insight. Hence all early Indian literature, for which any such insight is claimed, except that of Buddhism, either shows both the child-like and the more adult stages of thought without the (supremely interesting) transitional stage, or else it has preserved only its more adult records, or else it never had any but adult records to show, i.e. it is later literature only.

Now in the history of philosophy, whether its concepts be sought in the cell and the academy of the originating seer, or in the reaction to his influence in thoughtful and earnest minds, nothing is more illuminating either for chronology or for interpretation, than to catch the intelligence in the act of ascending to a fresh vantage-point in its interpretation of the world—

. . . dhammamayaṃ, Sumedha
pāsādaṃ āruyha, Samantacakkhu . . .
avekkhassu !¹

And since no auspicious day amid Egyptian or trans-Aegean ruins has brought back to us Leukippus or Demokritus, the Buddhist *Piṭakas*, by presenting this evolutionary moment, possess a unique interest for the historian of human ideas not only in India, but in the entire world of culture.

¹ See preceding Suttanta, p. 39 of the text.

XV. MAHĀ-NIDĀNA-SUTTANTA.

(THE GREAT DISCOURSE ON CAUSATION.)

1. [55] Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling among the Kurus¹. Now a township of that country is named Kammāssadamma. And the venerable Ānanda came to where the Exalted One was, bowed in salutation before him, and took a seat on one side. And so seated he said to the Exalted One:— 'Wonderful, lord, and marvellous it is, that whereas this doctrine of events as arising from causes is so deep and looks so deep², to me it seems as clear as clear can be!'

'Say not so, Ānanda, say not so! Deep is this doctrine of events as arising from causes, and it looks deep too. It is through not understanding this doctrine, through not penetrating it, that this generation³ has become a tangled skein, a matted ball of thread⁴, like

¹ The Kurus occupied the country of which Indraprastha, close to the modern Delhi, was the capital. See Rh. D. 'Buddhist India,' p. 27.

² Water, muses the Cy., may be shallow and look deep like a pool black with the rotten leaves beneath the surface; it may be deep and look shallow, like the jewel-like translucence of Ganges water; it may be and look shallow, like the contents of a basin; it may be and look deep, like the ocean at the foot of Mount Sineru. But this doctrine is ever and only deep both in substance and appearance.

³ The Greek *γέννημα* of the Gospels has much the same vague meaning as *pajā*—offspring, here rendered 'generation.'

⁴ A more literal rendering than Warren's picturesque 'entangled warp . . . ensnarled web.' The similes are drawn from weaving cloth and making nets. The tangle is due to bad workmanship or the teeth of mice; the matting, to grease (*kañjiyasuttaṃ*), the ball resembling a bird's nest. Both similes are to illustrate the confused state of the popular mind, lost in fallacies of opinion, prejudice and superstition e. g. among the sixty-two heresies of the first Suttanta (Vol. I). Cy.

to munja-grass and rushes¹, unable to overpass the doom of the Waste², the Woeful Way, the Downfall, the Constant Round [of transmigration]³.

2. 'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is old age and death due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is old age and death?" you should say :—"Birth is the cause of old age and death."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is birth due to a particular cause?" [56] you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is birth?" you should say :—"Becoming⁴ is the cause of birth."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is becoming due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is becoming?" you should say :—"Grasping is the cause of becoming."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is grasping due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is grasping?" you should say :—"Craving is the cause of grasping."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is craving due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is craving?" you should say :—"Sensation is the cause of craving."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is sensation due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is sensation?" you should say :—"Contact is the cause of sensation."

¹ When these are withering and cut in autumn, if gathered up in sheaves wherever they fall, it becomes difficult to extricate stalk from stalk and lay them in parallel order. (Cy.)

² Apāya. For the concrete meaning see above, Vol. I, p. 125. In the secondary sense the word is often—quite wrongly, rendered 'hell.' There is no hell, i.e. no existence of *unending* torment, in Indian thought.

³ These four terms all refer to a change for the worse in rebirth, i.e. to one or other of the four infra-human grades of existence—purgatory, animal kingdom, shades or ghosts, and asuras or fallen angels.

⁴ The Cy. is at no pains to explain here the staple terms in the chain of causation, the author having expounded them after his fashion in the Visuddhi Magga.

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is contact due to a particular cause?" you should say—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is contact?" you should say :—"Name-and-form is the cause of contact."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :—"Is name-and-form due to a particular cause?" you should say :—"It is." And to the question :—"From what cause is name-and-form?" you should say :—"Cognition is the cause of name-and-form."

3. 'Thus then is it, Ānanda, that cognition, with name-and-form as its cause; name-and-form, with cognition as its cause; contact, with name-and-form as its cause; sensation with contact as its cause; craving, with sensation as its cause; grasping, with craving as its cause; becoming, with grasping as its cause; birth, with becoming as its cause; old age and death, with birth as its cause; grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair, all come into being. [57] Such is the coming to pass of this whole body of Ill.

4. 'I have said that birth is the cause of old age and death. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no birth of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere—that is to say, of gods to godhood, of Gandharvas¹ after their kind, of Yakshas after their kind, of goblins² after their kind, of humans to humanity, of quadrupeds to the animal kingdom, of birds to winged things, or of insects to the insect-world—were there no birth after the several kind of every one of these classes of beings, then, there being no birth whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of birth, be any appearance of old age and death?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that

¹ The Cy., following S. III, 250, speaks of these beings as fairies residing in the perfumes given out by roots and other parts of trees and flowers, saying nothing of their 'celestial musicianship' (see Hardy, 'Manual of Buddhism,' 43), or of Sakka as their king (see Jāt. VI, 260).

² Bhūta.

is the basis, that is the genesis, that is the cause of old age and death, to wit, birth.

5. 'I have said that becoming¹ is the cause of birth. Now in what way that is so, Ânanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no becoming of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere, that is to say, no coming to be of any sentient, formed, or formless being², then there being no becoming whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of becoming, be any appearance of birth?'³

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ânanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of birth, to wit, becoming.

6. 'I have said that grasping³ is the cause of becoming. Now in what way that is so, Ânanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no grasping of any sort or kind whatever by any one at anything—[58] that is to say, no grasping at the things of sense, no grasping through speculative opinions, no grasping after mere rule and ritual, no grasping through theories of soul—then there being no grasping

¹ Tattha bhavattī bhavo. 'Here bhavo means one becomes' (so the Vis. Mag. opens its comment)—not atthi, one is. Burnouf, Oldenberg, Warren all choose 'existence.' Winternitz ('Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch,' p. 236) has *Dasein*. But the mobile, plastic, evolutionary thing, ever in progress, that life appears as conceived by the Indian, fits ill in the more rigid Western metaphysic of Being. As Buddhist sponsors, possibly also as philosophers, we lost much when we dropped *weorthan* for *becumen*, and may envy our German colleagues with their *Werden* (see Mrs. Rh. D. in 'Buddhism,' March, 1904, pp. 389, 390; Rangoon). Moreover, according to the Vibhanga (p. 137) the bhava which is the cause of birth is not only uppattibhavo,—the becoming which is 'coming into sentient being' of some sort—but also kammabhavo, or the generating of effective actions, effective in good or bad results, or in result which is 'beyond good and bad,' viz. meritorious activity, demeritorious activity, and 'unmoved' or 'static activity' (âneñjabhisankhâro). 'Existence' fits here still worse.

² These three exhausted, for the Buddhist, the living universe. See Dh. S., §§ 1281-6 (Trans., p. 334).

³ Upâdâna. See preceding Suttanta, II, 18, and the note there.

whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of grasping, be any appearance of becoming ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of becoming, to wit, grasping.

7. 'I have said that craving¹ is the cause of grasping. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything—that is to say, no craving for sights, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles or ideas—then there being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of grasping ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of grasping, to wit, craving.

8. 'I have said that sensation² is the cause of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no sensation of any sort or kind whatever in any one for anything, that is to say, no sensations born of impressions received by way of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, or imagination,—then there being no sensation whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of sensation, be any appearance of craving ?'

¹ *Tanhā*. Usually translated 'thirst,' but not used to express *physical* thirst in the *Piṭakas*. Dr. Neumann sometimes uses the equivalent (to craving)—*Begier*. Winternitz has *Gier*.

² *Vedanā*, which is usually, in the *Piṭakas*, resolved into feeling, pleasurable, painful, neutral, is here explained in terms of sense-reaction to contact. Now the term 'feeling,' in its widest psychological meaning (namely, as consisting essentially in our *being affected* or *acted upon*), is able to bear this connotation as well as the more emotional aspect. But since we have the alternative term 'sensation,' since Buddhaghosa himself emphasizes the different aspect: *dvārato vedanā vuttā* ('the *vedanā* mentioned refers to sense,' *Vis. Mag.*),—and since other translators are unanimous in using 'sensation,' this rendering is followed here. In *Sum. Vil.*, Buddhaghosa characterizes the term in this passage as *vipāka-vedanā*, 'resultant *vedanā*.'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of craving, to wit, sensation.'

9. 'Thus it is, Ānanda, that craving¹ comes into being because of sensation, pursuit because of craving, gain because of pursuit, decision² because of gain, desire and passion³ because of decision, tenacity because of desire and passion, possession because of tenacity, avarice⁴ because of possession, watch and ward because of avarice, [59] and many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions:—blows and wounds, strife, contradiction and retort, quarrelling⁵, slander and lies.

10. 'I have said that many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions, blows and wounds, quarrelling and the like, come into being. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no watch and ward of any sort or kind whatever by any one over anything, then there being no watch and ward whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of watch and ward, be any coming into being of those many bad and wicked states of things?

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the

¹ This and the nine following sections constitute a digression in the exposition of the chain which is thus explained by the Cy. Craving may be considered under two aspects:—There is the primordial craving which is the root or base of transmigration (*vaṭṭa-mūla-bhūta purima-taṇhā*), and there is craving as manifested in conduct (*samudācāra-taṇhā*). The former, with the remaining links, is now put aside, 'as if one were putting a clamorous person out of the road, hitting him on the back and seizing his hair.' And the latter is discussed under the twofold subdivision of craving in the quest, and craving in the found quarry—seeking and gloating over.

² *Vinicchayo*, explained as deciding what to do with one's gains.

³ *Chandarāgo*. From these selfish considerations volitions both weak and strong arise. Chando is weak passion (or lust, *rāgo*).

⁴ *Macchariyam*; the not suffering others to share.

⁵ On *tuvamītuvam*, see E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 38.

basis, the genesis, the cause of blows and wounds, of strife, contradiction and retort, of quarrelling, slander and lies, to wit, the guarding of property.

11. 'I have said that watch and ward is because of avarice. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no avarice of any sort or kind whatever in any one about anything, then there being no avarice whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of avarice, be any appearance of watch and ward?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of watch and ward, to wit, avarice.

12. 'I have said that avarice is because of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. [80] Were there no possession of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then there being no possessing whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of possession, be any appearance of avarice?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of avarice, to wit, possession.

13. 'I have said that tenacity is the cause of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no tenacity of any sort or kind whatever shown by any one with respect to anything, then there being no tenacity whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of tenacity, be any appearance of possession?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of possession, to wit, tenacity.

14. 'I have said that tenacity is because of desire and passion. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no passion or desire of any sort or kind whatever in any

one for anything, then there being no passion or desire whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of passion and desire, be any appearance of tenacity ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of tenacity, to wit, desire and passion.

15. 'I have said that passion and desire is because of decision. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no purpose of any sort or kind whatever devised by any one for anything, then there being no purpose whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of purpose, be any appearance of passion and desire ?'

[61] 'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of passion and desire, to wit, decision.

16. 'I have said that decision is because of gain. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no gain of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then, there being no gain whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of gain, be any appearance of decision ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of decision, to wit, gain.

17. 'I have said that gain is because of pursuit. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no pursuit of any sort or kind whatever by any one after anything, then there being no pursuit whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of pursuit, be any appearance of gain ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of gain, to wit, pursuit.

18. 'I have said that pursuit is because of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of

any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything,—that is to say, the lust of the flesh, the lust of life eternal and the lust of the life that now is¹—then, there being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of pursuit ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of pursuit, to wit, craving.

'So now, Ānanda, these two aspects [of craving] from being dual become united through the sensation [which conditions them]².'

19. [62] 'I have said that contact is the cause of sensation. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no contact of any sort or kind whatever between any one and anything whatever,—that is to say, no reaction³ of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch or imagination—then, there being no contact whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of contact, be any appearance of sensation ?

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause⁴ of sensation, to wit, contact.

20. 'I have said that name-and-form is the cause of contact. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called 'name' manifests itself,—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of a corre-

¹ See Rh. D. 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 148, n. 4. On the three kinds the Cy. remarks, that the first, *kāmatanāhā*, means craving for the five classes of sense-objects, the second is the passion characterizing Eternalism; the third, that characterizing Nihilism (see 'Dialogues,' I, pp. 27, 46).

² 'These two aspects' (*dhammā*), i.e. according to the Cy., the two aspects of craving specified above, p. 55. n. 1.

³ *Samphasso*.

sponding verbal impression in the aggregate called [bodily] form ?¹

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called [bodily] form manifests itself—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of an impression of sense-reaction² in the aggregate called name ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘And if all those modes, &c., of both kinds were absent, would there be any manifestation of either verbal or sensory impression ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘So that, if all those moods, &c., by which name-and-form manifests itself were absent, there would be no manifestation of contact ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of contact ; to wit, name-and-form.

¹ Rûpakâye adhivacanasaṃphasso. This and its complement the pañighasaṃphasso in ‘name’ (rendered ‘impression of sense-reaction’) occur in the Vibhanga, p. 6, as two modes of saññā, or perception, the former being described as refined, subtle, delicate, the latter as gross, coarse, thick. If the psychological comments of Buddhaghosa on these two expressions in the Sammoha-Vinodani and the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī be a correct guide to the Buddha’s utterance, then the passage under consideration reveals what would now be called a psycho-physiological standpoint of much interest. The ‘modes . . . exponents’ of ‘name’ are not physical expressions, but the processes of subjective consciousness,—feelings, perceptions, &c. The consciousness, bent back upon itself—*piñhivaññakā hutvā—refoulée sur soi-même*—gives the name to what it finds. The modes, &c., of ‘form’ are the modes of sensation, by which ‘form manifests itself’ to the mind,—‘at the mind-door,’ as the Cy. has it.

² See Dh. S., translation, p. 172, n. 1, 183, n. 1.

³ i. e. of this twofold contact, as the Cy. points out, of mental object with mind-activity or mind, and of sense-object with sense-organ. Cf. Dh. S., §§ 3–5, and translation, p. 5, n. 2. The former mode of contact is there called ceto-saṃphasso. manoviññāññadhātu-saṃphasso.

The Cy. sums up the relation between nāmarūpa and phasso as follows :—In the channels of the five senses, sight, hearing, &c., by

21. 'I have said that cognition is the cause of name-and form [63]. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition not to descend¹ into the mother's womb, would name-and-form become constituted therein²?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition, after having descended¹ into the mother's womb, to become extinct, would name-and-form come to birth in this state of being?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition to be extirpated from one yet young,

means of visual and other objects, are the 'form,' while the [other four] skandhas, brought into relation therewith, are the 'name.' Thus in a fivefold way is name-and-form the cause of contact. Moreover in the channel of the sixth sense (mano, ideation) its physical basis,—the heart—as well as such corporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute 'form,' while the related states of consciousness induced, as well as such incorporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute incorporeal form. Thus in saying that name-and-form is the cause of contact, we must also include contact that is mental (i.e. of ideas). Name-and-form is therefore in many ways the cause of contact. (On the heart, see Dh. S., translation, p. lxxviii; Pras. Up. III, 1, 5.)

¹ The animistic implication adhering to this term (okkamissatha; ava, down + √kram, stride) would of course have no significance for Buddhist doctrine. Accordingly it is, in the Cy., paraphrased as follows:—'having entered, *so to speak*, and staying (vattamānam—the Latin idiom, *versatum est*), by means of conception, were not to keep going on.' The contradictory term, vokkamissatha, 'become extinct,' rendered by Warren 'go away again,' is paraphrased nirujjhissatha, and only signifies that the advent is in some way annulled. There is no conception of cognition, as a unity, descending from outside into the womb like a ball into a bag. At Samyutta V, 283 we are told of happiness descending on a man, and at Mil. 299 of drowsiness descending into or on to a man. So okkantikā pīti is a standing expression for a particular sort of joy. In each of these cases the bliss, or drowsiness, or joy is supposed to develop from within; and so also here of cognition.

² Samucchissatha, derived by Dr. Konow (J. P. T. S., 1908) from sam + √murch, to thicken, and by him and Warren rendered 'to be consolidated.' So also Oldenberg 'Buddha', p. 259; and Windisch, 'Buddha's Geburt,' p. 39. The Cy. has kalalādi-bhāvena ... missibhūtam hutvā, 'become mixed with the embryo in its different stages.'

youth or maiden, would name-and-form attain to growth, development, expansion ?'

It would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of name-and-form, to wit, cognition.

22. 'I have said that name-and-form is the cause of cognition. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition to gain no foothold in name-and-form, would there then, in the coming years, be manifested that concatenation of birth, old age, death and the uprising of Ill ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of cognition, to wit, name-and-form.

'In so far only, Ānanda, can one be born, or grow old, or die, or dissolve, or reappear, in so far only is there any process¹ of verbal expression, in so far only is there any process of explanation, in so far only is there any process of manifestation, in so far only is there any sphere of knowledge, in so far only do we go round the round of life [64] up to our appearance amid the conditions of this world²—in as far as this is, to wit, name-and-form together with cognition.'

23. 'Now with declarations concerning the soul, Ānanda, how many such declarations are there³ ?

¹ Patho, literally, course, path.

² Itthattam paññāpanāya, lit. for the making manifest thusness. Warren's rendering:—'And it is all that is reborn to appear in the present shape,'—is beside the point, as well as free. Barely stated, the summary amounts to this:—'Only through cognition, language and bodily form do we live and express ourselves.' The little paragraph contains a great part of modern psychology in the germ-state.

³ The doctrine of origin by way of cause having now been set forth, the following is, according to the Cy., an illustration of how 'this generation has become a tangled skein,' &c., as asserted above (§ 1). These different impressions as to the nature of the attā

Either the soul is declared to have form and to be minute, in the words :—" My soul has form and is minute." Or the soul is declared to have form and to be boundless, in the words :—" My soul has form and is boundless." Or the soul is declared to be formless and minute, in the words :—" My soul is formless and minute." Or the soul is declared to be formless and boundless, in the words :—" My soul is formless and boundless."

24. ' And in each case, Ānanda, he who makes the declaration, makes it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, or else his idea is :—" My soul not being like that, I will refashion it into that likeness." That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of one who is given to the theories that the soul has form and is minute, . . . has form and is boundless, and so on.

[65] ' In so many ways, Ānanda, are declarations made concerning the soul.

25. ' And in how many ways, Ānanda, when no declaration concerning the soul is made¹, is such declaring refrained from? Either the soul is not declared to have form and to be minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to have form and to be boundless, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and boundless, in the aforesaid formula.

(ātman), soul, or mannikin, are, according to the Cy., deductions from Jhāna experience. For instance, in the first ' declaration,' ' he who, on gazing at a particular *kasīna* ' (one of ten kinds of objects for inducing meditative rapture), ' gets hold of an after-image where there is no expansion (*avaḍḍhitam*), and of a consciousness that " it is the soul," declares that it, the soul, has form and is minute '—and so on. Comp. on the whole exposition above Vol. I, pp. 45 foll.

¹ ' Who are they,' asks the Cy., ' who refrain? All *ariya-puggalā*—noble-minded persons, learned persons :—those who know the Three *Piṭakas* (by heart), or two, or one, or even only one of the *Nikāyas*, and can discourse thereon, and are of alert insight. These take the *kasīnas* for what they are, and, for them, the constituents of mind (the four *khandhas*) are such and no more.'

26. 'And in each case, Ānanda, he who refrains from making the declaration, does not make it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, nor is it his idea :—" My soul not being like that, I will re-fashion it into that likeness." [66] That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of those who are not given to theories respecting the form and dimensions of the soul.

' In so many ways, Ānanda, is there a refraining from declarations concerning the soul.'

27. 'And under how many aspects, Ānanda, is the soul regarded? The soul is regarded¹ either as feeling, in the words :—" My soul is feeling"—or the opposite, in the words :—" Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient"; or again :—" Nay, my soul *is* not feeling, nor is it non-sentient; my soul *has* feelings, it has the property of sentience." Under such aspects as these is the soul regarded.

28. 'Hercin, Ānanda, to him who affirms :—" My soul is feeling"—answer should thus be made :—" My friend, feeling is of three kinds. There is happy feeling, painful feeling, neutral feeling. Of these three feelings, look you, which do you consider your soul is?"

'When you feel a happy feeling, Ānanda, you do not feel a painful feeling, or a neutral feeling; you feel just a happy feeling. And when you feel a painful feeling, you do not feel a happy feeling, or a neutral feeling, but just a painful feeling. And when you feel a neutral feeling, you do not then feel a happy feeling or a painful feeling; you feel just a neutral feeling.

¹ These three forms of the 'individuality-heresy' amount to an interesting and metaphysically more discriminating statement of the oft-quoted theories identifying the soul or *mannikin* with one or other of the five *Khandhas*. (See Vin. I, 13 ('Vin. Texts,' I, 100); M. I, 138, 300; S. III, 66; IV, 34, &c.) According to the Cy., the second assertion is the identification with the body (*rūpakkhandhavatthukā*), which is usually placed first; the third assertion includes identification of the soul with the other three *Khandhas*--with, let us say, thinking and volition.

29. 'Moreover, Ânanda, happy feeling is impermanent, a product ¹, the result of a cause or causes, liable to perish [87], to pass away, to become extinct, to cease. So too is painful feeling. So too is neutral feeling. If when experiencing a happy feeling one thinks :—" This is my soul,"—when that same happy feeling ceases, one will also think :—" My soul has departed." So too when the feeling is painful, or neutral. Thus he who says :—" My soul is feeling,"—regards, as his soul, something which, in this present life, is impermanent, is blended of happiness and pain, and is liable to begin and to end. Wherefore, Ânanda, it follows that this aspect :—" My soul is feeling"—does not commend itself.

30. 'Herein again, Ânanda, to him who affirms :—" Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient,"—answer should thus be made :—" My friend, where there is no feeling of anything, can you there say :—" I am' ? "'

' You cannot, lord ².'

' Wherefore, Ânanda, it follows that this aspect :—" Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient,"—does not commend itself.

31. 'Herein again, Ânanda, to him who affirms :—" Nay, my soul *is* not feeling, nor is it non-sentient ; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,"—answer should thus be made :—" My friend, were feeling of every sort or kind to cease absolutely, then there being, owing to the cessation thereof, no feeling whatever, could one then say :—" I myself am' ? "'

' No, lord, one could not.'

¹ Saṅkhata, con-fected, composite, the resultant of conditions. The soul, according to the then current animism, was considered to be unique, not a product, not causally modifiable through temporal or spatial conditions. The commentary explains saṅkhata as 'that which, having through such and such causes (lit. doings) come together, is made.

² All the MSS. agree in putting this answer in the mouth of Ânanda, instead of in that of the soul-theorist. And it would be quite like him to rush in, in this way, with his opinion. And so also below.

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect:—
“Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non-sentient; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,”—does not commend itself.

32. [68] ‘Now when a brother, Ānanda, does not regard soul under these aspects,—either as feeling, or as non-sentient, or as having feeling,—then he, thus refraining from such views, grasps at nothing whatever in the world; and not grasping he trembles not; and trembling not, he by himself attains to perfect peace.’ And he knows that birth is at an end, that the higher life has been fulfilled, that what had to be done had been accomplished, and that after this present world there is no beyond!

‘And of such a brother, Ānanda, whose heart is thus set free, if any one should say:—“His creed is that an Arahant² goes on after death”—that were absurd. Or: “His creed is that an Arahant does not go on . . . does, and yet does not, go on . . . neither goes on nor goes not on after death”—all that were absurd. Why is that? Because, Ānanda, whatever verbal expression there is and whatever system of verbal expression, whatever explanation there may be, and whatever system of explanation, whatever communication is possible and whatever system of communication, whatever knowledge there is and whatever sphere of knowledge, whatever round of life and how far the round is traversed,—by mastery over all this that brother is set free. But to say, of a brother who has been so set free

¹ Parinibbāyati. Usually rendered ‘he attains complete Nirvana’ or ‘attains Parinirvāna,’ or even ‘enters Nirvana.’ The term is applied to the death of an Arahant, but it is also used to express perfected tranquillity, as in the case of a horse (M. I, 446), or of a man (M. I, 251; S. III, 54). Tradition, as represented by the Cy., did not associate the hour of death with the term, for it says, ‘Having thus completely parinibbāna-ed (by extinguishing all evil) he goes on to reflect, “Birth is at an end,”’ &c.

² Tathāgata; perhaps it merely means ‘mortal.’ See M. I, 542.

by insight :—" He knows not, he sees not "—that were absurd !¹

33. ' There are seven resting-places for Cognition², Ānanda, and two Spheres³. Which are the seven ?

[69] ' There are beings differing in body and differing in intelligence⁴, for instance, human beings and certain of the gods and some of those in purgatory. This is the first resting-place for Cognition.

' There are beings differing in body but of uniform intelligence, for instance, the gods of the Brahma-heaven who are there reborn by means of the First [Jhāna]⁵. This is the second resting-place for Cognition.

' There are beings uniform in body and differing in intelligence, for instance, the Luminous Gods⁶. This is the third resting-place for Cognition.

¹ The argument in this paragraph seems to have appealed in a special degree to the early Buddhists, for it has been made the basis of a whole Suttanta, the Jāhya (which is itself repeated, occurring first as part of the Mahāli, and then again separately). The main point there emphasized is that the converted man will have gone so far beyond them that all such questions will have ceased to interest him. The two other Suttantas have been translated in full in Vol. I; but see especially pp. 200-5.

² The Sangiti Suttanta (' Dialogues,' III) and A. IV, 39, 40 also name seven. S. III, 54 gives only four.

³ The Pāli thus rendered is *thiti* and *āyatanaṃ* respectively. The Cy. paraphrases the first by ' this is an equivalent for a setting-up (*pati/hāna*) of *viññāna*.' *Patī/hānaṃ* is the affording of a standing-place, resting-place, *locus standi*, or foothold for. *Thiti* again is the term for the central, static moment in any process, contrasting with two others in the same category, viz. inception and dying-out. ' Rest ' is not satisfactory, but no English term suggests itself which exactly meets the requirement. For ' sphere ' the paraphrase is simply :— ' *nivāsana/hānaṃ*, dwelling-place, . . . ' These are included to exhaust [the contents] of the Cycle (*samsāra*), for the Cycle goes not on merely by way of *viññāna*-resting places.'

⁴ No two human beings, says the Cy., are ever exactly alike; even in twins that are undistinguishable in likeness of appearance and complexion, there will be some difference in look, speech, gait or carriage.

⁵ Cf. Dh. S., §§ 160 ff., 266 ff.; transl., pp. lxxxvii-ix, 43 ff., 72 ff.

⁶ Ranking sixth in the heavens of Rūpabrahmaloka.

'There are beings uniform in body and of uniform intelligence, for instance, the All-Lustrous Gods¹. This is the fourth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond all consciousness of form, by the dying out of the consciousness of sense-reaction, by having turned the attention away from any consciousness of the manifold, and become conscious only of "space as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite space². This is the fifth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite space, and become conscious only of "cognition as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite cognition. This is the sixth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite cognition, and become conscious only that "there is nothing whatever," are dwellers in the realm of nothingness. This is the seventh resting-place for Cognition.

'The Sphere of beings without consciousness³.

'Next to that, the Sphere of beings who neither have consciousness nor yet have it not⁴.

34. 'Now there, Ānanda—in that first resting-place for Cognition, of differing bodies and differing intelligences,—to wit, human beings and certain of the gods and certain of those in purgatory—think you that he who both knows what that state is, and how it comes to be, and how it passes away,—knows too the pleasures of it, and the miseries⁵ of it, and the way of

¹ Ranking ninth in the same.

² The Cy. refers the inquirer to the Vis. Mag. for further comment. Cf. next Suttanta, and Dh. S., §§ 263–8; trans., pp. 71–5.

³ Saññā, perhaps awareness would be a better rendering.

⁴ The Cy. here includes cognition with awareness, the extreme tenuity or refinement (*sukhumattam*) of both being in this sphere such that it is as a zero point between presence and absence of either. See passage last cited in previous note.

⁵ Or the peril of it (*āḍṇavo*), i.e. the thought of its impermanence, changeableness, &c. Cy.

escape from it,—think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in it? ¹

[70] 'Nay, lord.'

'And in those other six resting-places for Cognition, and in those two Spheres,—think you that he who both knows them for what they are, how they come to be, and how they pass away, knows too the pleasures of them, and the miseries of them, and the way of escape from them,—think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in them?'

'Nay, lord.'

'But, Ânanda, when once a brother has understood as they really are the coming to be and the passing away, the pleasures and the miseries of, and the way of escape from, these seven resting-places for Cognition, and these two Spheres, that brother, by being purged of grasping, becomes free. And then, Ânanda, he is called Freed-by-Reason ².'

35. 'Now these, Ânanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance'. Which are they?

¹ This standpoint of insight into the limitations of all sentient experience when estimated according to its emotional or hedonistic values is claimed by the Buddha as a monopoly of his own doctrine, distinguishing it from other ethical systems. See his graphic exposition in the Great Suttanta on the Body of Ill; and the passages quoted under *Yathâbhûtam* in the *Samyutta Index* (vol. vi).

² *Paññâ vimutto*, i.e. says the Cy. 'emancipated without the aid of the following eight grades of deliverance'—by native insight. So PP. 14, 73. Here, as throughout, when *paññâ* is rendered by 'reason,' it is but a *pis-aller*. *Paññâ* is really intellect as conversant with, engaged upon, general truths, and thus comes out as approximately Kant's *Vernunft*, and Reason as distinct from Understanding, a distinction very general in English and European philosophy. See Dh. S., transl., p. 17, n. 2. By 'emancipated' the Cy. understands 'having effected the non-perpetuity (in rebirths) of name and form.'

³ *Vimokhâ*. See the following Suttanta, p. 111 of the text; A. IV, 306, 349; Dh. S., §§ 248–50; transl., pp. 63–5. Buddhaghosa's comments on the last citation are approximately the same as those on the first three stages here given. Here, too, he explains Release as deliverance from adverse conditions, so that the attention is sustained with all the detachment and confidence felt by the little child borne on his father's hip, his limbs dangling, and no need felt to clutch. In the

'Having one's self external form, one sees [these] forms. This is the first stage.

'Unaware of one's own external form, one sees forms external to one's self. This is the second stage.

[71] "'Lovely!"—with this thought one becomes intent. This is the third stage.

'Passing wholly beyond¹ perceptions of form, all perceptions of sense-reaction dying away, heedless of all perceptions of the manifold, conscious of space as infinite, one enters into and abides in the sphere of space regarded as infinite. This is the fourth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of space regarded as infinite, conscious of reason as infinite, one enters into and abides in the sphere of cognition regarded as infinite. This is the fifth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of reason regarded as infinite, conscious of there being nothing whatever, one enters into and abides in the sphere of nothingness. This is the sixth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of nothingness, one enters into and abides in the sphere of "neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness." This is the seventh stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of "neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation," one enters into and abides

first stage, Jhâna is induced by intense concentration on the *colour* of some bodily feature. In the second, the *kasina* is an object external to one's body. In the third, consciousness of an uprising glamour (around or superseding the *kasina*) of perfectly pure colour or lustre is meant. The *aesthetic* suffusion was held to quicken the sense of emancipation from *morally* adverse conditions analogously to that perception of ethical rapture induced by the Four Divine or Sublime Moods, described in the Mahâ Sudassana Suttanta. The *Paṭisambhidâmagga* is again referred to by the Cy., viz. II, p. 39, in this connexion. The curious thing is that in reply to the question, 'How is there release thus :—"How lovely it is—with this thought he becomes intent?"'—the reply is simply and solely the Formula of the Four Sublime Moods.

¹ The 4th–7th stages were afterwards known as the Four Âruppa Jhânas, or the four Jhânas to be cultivated for attaining to the Formless Heavens (see Dh. S., §§ 265 ff.).

in a state of suspended perception and feeling. This is the eighth stage.

'These, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.

36. 'Now when once a brother, Ānanda, has mastered these eight stages of Deliverance in order, and has also mastered them in reverse order, and again, in both orders consecutively, so that he is able to lose himself in, as well as to emerge from, any one of them, whenever he chooses, wherever he chooses, and for as long as he chooses—when too, by rooting out the Taints, he enters into and abides in that emancipation of heart, that emancipation of the intellect which he by himself, here in this present world, has come to know and realize—then such a brother, Ānanda, is called "Free-in-both-ways"¹. And, Ānanda, any other Freedom-in-both-ways higher and loftier than this Freedom-in-both-ways there is not !'

Thus spake the Exalted One. Glad at heart the Venerable Ānanda delighted in his words.

Here endeth the MAHĀ-NIDĀNA-SUTTANTA.

¹ Ubhato-bhāga-vimutto, i.e. freed both by Reason and also by the intellectual discipline of the Eight Stages. According to a scholastic elaboration of the term, emanating from the Gīri-vihāra of the great Loha-pāsāda (or Brazen Palace), 'both ways' meant the Four Jhānas and the Āruppa-jhānas. How this can be reconciled with this paragraph—confirmed by PP. 14 and 73 and by M. I, 477-8—is not stated. 'Taints' are the Four Āsavas, rendered 'Intoxicants' above, p. 28, n. 2.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

THE general conclusions we have to draw as to the gradual growth of the various books in the Buddhist canon have been stated in Chapter X of 'Buddhist India'. To work out the details of it will be greatly facilitated by tabular statements of the differences and resemblances found in the various books, whether in matters of form or of ideas. The following table gives a list of all such passages in this book as have, so far, been traced elsewhere. Others will, no doubt, be discovered; but those here given will throw some light on the method of construction followed in the book. Only parallel passages are given, passages in which some other book has at least a paragraph or more couched in identical, or almost identical, words.

A glance at column three, giving the pages of the text, shows a remarkable result. There are ninety-six pages of Pāli text, beginning on p. 72. With a few gaps—pp. 92, 3; 113-15; 117-21; 130-3; 137-40; 148-50; 153; 158-60; 164-7 (nine in number)—the whole text is found, in nearly identical words, elsewhere. The gaps, filled with matter found only in the Book of the Great Decease, amount altogether to about 32 or 33 pages, that is to about one-third of the whole. That proportion would be reduced if we were to include passages of similar tendency, or passages of shorter length.

Secondly, the parallel passages are found, without exception, in those books which belong to the oldest portion of the canon. In 'Buddhist India,' p. 188, there is a table showing, in groups, the probable relative order in time of the Buddhist literature down to the time of Asoka.

All these passages belong to the two earliest groups; all are found in books included in groups 4-6; not one occurs in any of the books included in the later groups—groups 7, 8, 9, and 10. So far as it goes, therefore, the present table is in harmony with the order suggested in the table referred to.

Thirdly; the slight differences, the more important of which

BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.				OTHER OLD PĀLI BOOKS.
1	Chap. I	§§ 1-10	pp. 72-80	A. IV, 16-24
2		16, 17	81-83	D. XXVIII and S. V, 159-161
3		20-34	84-89	Ud. VIII, 6 and Vin. I, 226
4	II	2, 3	90, 91	{ S. V, 431; Vin. I, 231 and Netti 166
5		12, 13	94, 95	S. IV, 211
6		14-19	95-98	Vin. I, 231-233 ¹
7		22-26	98-101	S. V, 152-154, § 26, ib. 164, 5
8	III	1-20	102-109	A. IV, 308-313
9		1-10	102-107	S. V, 259-263 and Ud. VI, 1
10		21-23	109, 110	A. IV, 30 (nearly = M. I, 72)
11		24-32	110, 111	A. IV, 305 and 348; M. II, 13, 14
12		33	111, 112	{ D. II, 70, 71; A. IV, 306 and 349
13		43	116	Quoted KV. 559
14	IV	2, 3	122, 123	{ A. II, 1, 2 and A. IV, 105 (quoted KV. 115) ²
15		7-11	123-126	A. II, 167-170
16		13-25	126-129	Ud. VIII, 5
17		39-43	134-136	Ud. VIII, 5
18	V	11	141, 142	D. II, 161
19		12	142, 143	A. II, 245, 6
20		15	144	S. V, 16 (nearly)
21		16	145, 146	A. II, 132
22		17, 18	146, 147	D. II, 169, 170
23		27	151	Quoted KV. 601
24		28	152	{ D. I, 176; M. I, 391, 494; S. II, 21; Vin. I, 69, 71
25	VI	5	154, 5	A. II, 79, 80
26		7-10	155-158	S. I, 157-159 ³
27		9	156	A. IV, 410 ff.
28		10	157	Th. I, 905, 1046; A. I, 236
29		17	161	D. II, 141, 2
30		19-20	162, 163	Vin. II, 284, 5 ⁴
31		27	167 (end of text)	

¹ Differs as to *locus in quo*.² Differs as to application.³ Differs as to order of sentences.⁴ Differs as to order of sentences.

are noted in the table, are very suggestive. No. 26 is the episode of the stanzas uttered at the moment of the Buddha's death. The *Samyutta* gives it in the *Brahma-Samyutta* because the first verse is attributed to Brahmā. The last two verses are there put into the mouths of Ānanda and Anuruddha respectively, perhaps because Anuruddha's verse forms a more fitting conclusion. In the *Dīgha* Ānanda's comes last, either in deprecation of Ānanda (which is scarcely probable), or for the reason given in the note to the translation.

In No. 14 we have four lines of verse, and the prose introductory to them, ascribed in the *Dīgha* to the Buddha, ascribed in the *Anguttara* to a former teacher whose story is there told by the Buddha. That previous teacher, though not a Buddha, is highly praised in the story; the epithet applied to him in the verses (*sattthā*) is quite in the right place in that connexion; and the verses when spoken by the Buddha of another teacher, are quite appropriate. On the other hand, when put as the *Dīgha* puts them, into the mouth of the Buddha as spoken of himself, they are not in the best of taste, and sound forced. There can, I think, be no doubt but that the application of these verses to Sunetta the Teacher was the original one, and that the little poem was only later applied to the Buddha himself. But it does not follow in the least that the *Anguttara* is older than the *Dīgha*. For, as is shown by the references in the table, the *Anguttara* itself contains, in an earlier part of the work, the later application of these verses. There it gives the episode, word for word, as it occurs in the *Dīgha*. The two passages cannot be of the same age. It is not possible that the same story was told originally of two different people. But the two collections (*Nikāyas*) may very well have been put together, from older materials of varying age, at the same time.

No. 30 is the episode of the explosion of ill-will on the part of Subhadda. There is a slight but very suggestive difference here between the two texts, one found in our *Suttanta* the other in the *Pañcasatika Khandaka* of the *Vinaya*. For convenience of comparison the two versions of this episode are here reprinted side by side.

DĪGHA.

Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And

VINAYA.

Now the venerable Mahā Kassapa addressed the Bhikkhus and said: 'Once I was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with about five

the venerable Mahâ Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

Just at that time a certain ascetic who had picked up a Mandârava flower in Kusinârâ was coming along the high road to Pâvâ. Now the venerable Mahâ Kassapa saw the ascetic coming in the distance, and on seeing him he said to that ascetic: 'O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?'

'Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week. That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower.'

On that of those of the brethren who not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!' But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahants) bore their grief self-possessed and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that (they should not be dissolved?).'

Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the Order in his old age, was seated in that company. And Subhadda, the recruit in his old age, said to those brethren: 'Enough, Sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told: "This becoms you, this becoms you not." But now we shall be able

hundred of the brethren. And I left the high road and sat myself down at the foot of a certain tree.

Just at that time a certain ascetic who had picked up a Mandârava flower in Kusinârâ was coming along the high road to Pâvâ. Now I saw that ascetic coming in the distance, and on seeing him I said to that ascetic: 'O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?'

'Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week. That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower.'

On that, Sirs, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!' But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahants) bore their grief self-possessed and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that (they should not be dissolved?).'

Then I, Sirs, spoke thus to the Bhikkhus: 'Enough, my brethren, weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One, Sirs, formerly declared this, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear to us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them. How, then, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being,

to do whatever we like ; and what we do not like, that we shall not do !'

But the venerable Mahā Kassapa exhorted the brethren : 'Enough, my brethren ! Weep not, neither lament ! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How then, brethren, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist !'

and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist !'

Now at that time, Sirs, a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the Order in his old age, was seated in that company. And Subhadda, Sirs, the recruit in his old age, said to those brethren : 'Enough, Sirs ! Weep not, neither lament ! We are well rid of the great Samāsa. We used to be annoyed by being told : "This beseems you, this beseems you not." But now we shall be able to do whatever we like ; and what we do not like that we shall not do.'

A glance at the above columns shows that the two texts are identical except in two particulars. The Dīgha gives the episode in narrative form, whereas the Vinaya puts it into the mouth of Kassapa himself. And secondly, whereas the Dīgha puts Kassapa's speech *after* the outburst of Subhadda, the Vinaya puts it *before*—that is, the last two paragraphs in the Dīgha are transposed in the Vinaya.

Professor Oldenberg, who was the first to point out (more than thirty years ago)¹ the parallelism between the two texts, acutely suggests that the change is due to the position occupied by this episode in the Vinaya. It is there used as introduction to the account of the Council at Rājagaha held, according to the tradition, to counteract such sentiments as were expressed in Subhadda's outburst. It was considered more appropriate, therefore, that *in that connexion*, Subhadda's words should come last, to lead up to what follows. The whole of the story is accordingly taken from our Suttanta. But the last paragraphs are transposed, and the whole is put into the mouth of Kassapa, on whose advice the Council is stated to have been convened.

This seems a very probable explanation of the transposition, and of the existence of two slightly different accounts of the

¹ Introduction to the Vinaya, xxvi-xxviii.

episode. If we accept it—and I think we should¹—we have to face the further question: Why was the episode inserted in the Dīgha? It is given there in the middle of the account of the cremation of the Buddha at Kusinārā. It has very little to do either with what precedes, or with what follows it; and is said to have taken place away from Kusinārā. The outburst itself was of little importance in the long story of the Buddha's last days; and (in the older order as preserved in the Dīgha) is immediately overwhelmed by Mahā Kassapa's apt quotation from the Master's words. Have we not here a very similar motive, acting on either the same or very similar minds? Is it not precisely the part played by this anecdote in the traditional account of the First Council that led the compilers of the Dīgha to find a place for it in the Book of the Great Decease? They might so easily have left it out. As it stands it only breaks in upon the narrative. And, apart from the tradition about the First Council, it had no importance.

There has been much discussion both for and against the authenticity of this First Council. Is this really necessary? Oldenberg's analysis of the comparative date of the different parts of the Vinaya has shown conclusively that the record, as we have it, is later than the Council of Vesālī, that is at least a hundred years later than the meeting whose proceedings it purports to record. What can be the value of so late a record? It may be objected to this that though the extant record is late the tradition may be older. No one can prove that it was not. But this would not help matters at all. We must then point out that the details as given are, as one might expect, quite inaccurate².

Space will only allow of one example being taken.

It is well known that all the ancient sacred literatures of the world have grown up gradually, and are a mosaic of earlier

¹ It does not quite follow that the Vinaya is borrowing direct from the Dīgha. That may be so. But the Subhadda story may have been in existence before either Dīgha or Vinaya was put into its present shape. If so, it was doubtless current in the form now preserved by the Dīgha; and was changed by the compilers of the Vinaya. Both Oldenberg (*loc. cit.*) and Franke (J. P. T. S., 1908, 8-12) suppose the Vinaya to be borrowing from the Dīgha. It is quite possible that the two books—Dīgha and Vinaya—may have been put together, as we now have them, at the same time.

² It is admitted there were no reporters present. There were at the time of the Buddha's death no mechanical means available for writing anything beyond the most meagre notes.

and later material. The Buddhist Pitakas form no exception. As regards the Nikāyas I have shown this elsewhere in considerable detail¹. Now the record, as we have it, presupposes the existence, already at the time of the Buddha's death, of the Five Nikāyas in their present arrangement!

It follows that both on general principles of comparative criticism, and on consideration of a particular instance in this special case, the details given us in the Vinaya about the First Council cannot be trusted. But it does not follow, as a matter of certainty, that there was no Council at all. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the Order held a 'General Chapter,' as we should call it, soon after the Buddha's death. They kept no proper minutes of the meeting. We may conjecture what happened at it, but it would be only conjecture. And we must continue patiently, from the incidental references in the books themselves, to formulate a probable theory as to the method in which the literature gradually sprang up. The record handed down to us in the Vinaya is authentic enough; but only *in the only way in which any such record can be considered authentic*, that is, as evidence of beliefs held at the date at which it was composed.

¹ 'Dialogues,' I, x-xx; 'Buddhist India,' 161-208.

[XVI. MAHÂ PARINIBBÂNA SUTTANTA.

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE.

CHAPTER I.]

1. [72] Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling in Râjagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajâtasattu, the son of the queen-consort of the Videha clan¹, the king of Magadha, had made up his mind to attack the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful' though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin!'

2. So he spake to the brahmin Vassakâra (the Rain-maker), prime-minister of Magadha, and said :—

¹ Ajâtasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name but an official epithet, 'he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe' (so already in the Rig Veda but Sum. 131 different). The second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Her name, according to a Tibetan authority quoted by Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha,' p. 63, was Vâsavî.

Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senâpati or as Sâriputta; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. See above, Vol. I, pp. 193-5.

By the Jains Ajâtasattu is called Kûmika or Kowika, which again is probably not the name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after-life.

² Evammahiddhihe evammahânubhâve. There is nothing magical or supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesam samagga-bhâvam kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippâdhi). See above, Vol. I, p. 273.

'Come now, brahmin, do you go to the Exalted One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and inquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health. Then tell him that Ajâtasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vajjians, has resolved, "I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin!" And bear carefully in mind whatever the Exalted One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!'

3. [73] Then the brahmin Vassakâra, the Rain-maker, hearkened to the words of the king, saying, 'Be it as you say.' And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Rājagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Exalted One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, sat down respectfully by his side (and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded¹).

4. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda was standing behind the Exalted One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him :—'Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians foregather often and frequent the public meetings of their clan?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ānanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vajjians foregather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

(And in like manner questioning Ānanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Exalted One declared

¹ The wording of § 2 is here repeated.

as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vajjian confederacy¹.)

[74] 'So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—[75] so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines² in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

5. Then the Exalted One addressed Vassakāra the brahmin and said :—

'When I was once staying, O brahmin, at Vesālī at the Sārāṇḍada Shrine³, I taught the Vajjians these conditions of welfare; and so long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.'

'We may expect then,' answered the brahmin, 'the welfare and not the decline of the Vajjians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all

¹ In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.

² Cetiyāni, which Sum. Vil. explains as Yakkha-cetiyāni.

³ The commentator adds that this was a vihara erected on the site of a former shrine of the Yakkha Sārāṇḍada. The teaching referred to is set out in full at A. IV, 16, but the persons taught are there called Licchavis.

the seven. [76] So, Gotama, the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance'. And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy and have much to do.'

'Whatever you think most fitting, O brahmin,' was the reply. And the brahmin Vassakâra, the Rain-maker, delighted and pleased with the words of the Exalted One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—'Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren² as live in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha.'

And he did so; and returned to the Exalted One, and informed him, saying:—

'The company of the brethren, lord, is assembled, let the Exalted One do as seemeth to him fit.'

And the Exalted One arose, and went to the Service

¹ 'Overcome' is literally 'done' (*karaniya*), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which 'done' occasionally has in colloquial English. *Upalāpana*, which I have only met with here, must mean 'humbug, cajolery, diplomacy'; see the use of the verb *upa-lāpeti*, at S. I, 102; Vin. II, 119; IV, 139; Jāt. II, 266, 267; IV, 56. Sum. Vil. explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the same thing. The root, I think, is *lī*.

² The word translated 'brethren' throughout is in the original *bhikkhu*, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A *bhikkhu*, literally 'beggar,' was a disciple who had joined Gotama's order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word. Hardy has 'priests'; I have elsewhere used 'monks' and sometimes 'beggars' and 'members of the order.' This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of *bhikkhu*. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. 'Brethren' connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering *bhikkhu*.

Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the brethren, and said :—

‘I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, lord,’ said the brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he spake as follows :—

‘So long, O mendicants, as the brethren foregather oft, and frequent the formal meetings of their Order—so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the Order—[77] so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the Order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the brethren so train their minds in self-possession that good men among their fellow-disciples shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease—so long may the brethren be expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

7. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows :—

[78] ‘So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as the brethren

shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, wrong desires¹—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of evil-doers—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way (to Nirvana in Arahantship²) because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

8. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

‘So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of wrong doing³, full of learning, [79] strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in

¹ The blundering misstatement that Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire (not of wrong desire) is still occasionally met with. The question is fully discussed in Mrs. Rhys Davids's article on ‘The Will in Buddhism’ (J. R. A. S., 1898).

² This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13:—‘I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,’ &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.

³ The exact distinction between *hiri* and *ottappa* is here explained by Buddhaghosa as loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. *Ahirikā* is shamelessness, *anottappa* forwardness. At Jāt. I, 207 we find *hiri* described as subjective, and *ottappa* as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour. See further Mrs. Rhys Davids in ‘Buddhist Psychology,’ p. 20.

these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

9. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

10. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the realization of the ideas of the impermanency of all phenomena, bodily or mental, the absence [in them of any abiding principle] of any "soul," of corruption, of the danger of wrong thoughts, of the necessity of getting rid of them, of purity of heart, of Nirvana—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

[80] 'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

11. 'Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness

of action, speech, and thought towards their fellow-disciples, both in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with their upright companions, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which [unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished] are productive of freedom¹, and praised by the wise; which are untarnished [by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts]²; and which are conducive to concentration of heart—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving insight which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

[81] 'So long as these six conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these six conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

12. Now it was while the Exalted One was staying there at Rājagaha on the Vulture's Peak that he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:—'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelli-

¹ Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense. He says:—'These virtues are bhujissāni because they bring one to the state of a free man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.'

² The commentator explains:—'These virtues are called aparāmaññāni because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and because no one can say of him who practises them, "you have been already guilty of such and such a fault." Craving is here the hope of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (the two nissayas), which are condemned as unworthy inducements to virtue. At A. III, 132 these five qualities are called phāsu-vihārā, states of bliss.

gence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance¹.

13. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Rājagaha as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Ambala//ikā.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda in assent, and the Exalted One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambala//ikā.

14. There the Exalted One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :—'Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great

¹ This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have here rendered 'earnest contemplation' is samādhi, which occupies in the Five Nikāyas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament; and this section shows that the relative importance of samādhi, paññā, and sīla played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought, or equal succinctness of form. See further Rhys Davids's 'The Yogāvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism,' pp. xxv foll., and above; Vol. I, p. 156. Also E. W. West, 'Pahlavi Texts,' III, 37; Anguttara I, 233; Itivuttaka, No. 59.

The expression 'set round with' is in Pāli paribhāvita. In a constantly recurring simile (M. I, 104; S. III, 153) eggs are said to be paribhāvītāni by a brooding hen. In medicine the word means 'charged with, impregnated with.' See Jāt. I, 380; IV, 407; and compare Mil. 361, 382, 394. Comp. Bhag. Gītā III. 38 for this simile.

becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

15. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Ambala¹likâ as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Nālandā¹.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nālandā; and there, at Nālandā, the Exalted One stayed in the Pāvārika mango grove.

16. ² Now the venerable Sāriputta came to the place where the Exalted One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, [82] and said:—'Lord! such faith have I in the Exalted One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether wanderer or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sāriputta: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Able, Awakened Ones³, comprehending their

¹ Afterwards the seat of the famous Buddhist University for so many centuries the centre of learning in India.

² The following conversation is also given at length in the *Sampasādāniya Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and a third time in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (S. V, 159). It was evidently a very popular passage, and is quite possibly the one referred to in Asoka's Bhabra Edict as the 'Question of Upatissa,' that is, of Sāriputta.

³ Arahant Buddhas. The meaning of these words must have been very present to the minds of those who used them at the time of the rise of what we call Buddhism; and there was little or no difference

minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what the emancipation they attained to?'

'Not so, O lord!'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Able Awakened Ones comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?'

'Not so, O lord!'

'But at least then, O Sâriputta, thou knowest me as the Able Awakened One now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned]?'

'Not even that, O lord!'

'You see then, Sâriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones of the past and of the future. [88] Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?'

17. 'O lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage of the faith.

'Just, lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and towers, and with only one gate; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only men well known. And he, on patrolling in his sentry walks over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. He might well be satisfied to know that all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so

between the connotation of the two terms. As time went on the two were more and more differentiated, and hardened into technical terms. See *Samyutta* III, 65 on the difference between the two: and see *Samyutta* I, 233; III, 160; IV, 175 for very old explanations of *Arahâ*, and *Pañisambhidâ* I, 172 for an ancient commentary on the meaning of Buddha.

by that gate. Thus only is it, lord, that I know the lineage of the faith.

'I know that the Able Awakened Ones of the past, putting away all hankering after the world, ill-will, sloth, worry and perplexity—those five Hindrances, mental faults which make the understanding weak ;—training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity ; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Able Awakened Ones of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One of to-day, has [done so] now¹.'

18. [84] There too at Nālandā in the Pāvārika mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :—' Such and such is upright conduct ; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becom-

¹ The *tertium quid* of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to the Enlightenment of Arahantship.

All the details he gives are details, not of Buddhahood, but of Arahantship. He makes no distinction between the two states of attainment. This is most important for the history of that Buddhology, which, in after centuries, was the main factor in the downfall of Buddhism.

ing, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

19. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned as long as he thought fit at Nālandā, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pāṭaligāma.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pāṭaligāma.

20. Now the disciples at Pāṭaligāma heard of his arrival there, and they went on to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest-house. And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pāṭaligāma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest-house, bowing to the Exalted One and keeping him on their right as they passed him. On arriving there they strewed all the rest-house with fresh sand, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Exalted One, and saluting him they stood beside him, and told him what they had done and said :— 'It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. [85] And the Exalted One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest-house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Exalted One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pāṭaligāma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Exalted One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. Then the Exalted One addressed the Pāṭaligāma disciples, and said :— 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude,

falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or men of a religious order—he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe¹. This, O householders, is the five-fold loss of the evil-doer!

24. [86] 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or members of a religious order—he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. When the Exalted One had thus taught the lay disciples at Pāṭaligāma, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying:— 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, lord!' answered the disciples of Pāṭaligāma, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Exalted One, not long after the disciples

¹ Four such states are mentioned, apāya, duggati, vinipāto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgement, it cannot be accurately so rendered. See p. 51.

of Pāṭaligāma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber¹.

26. At that time Sunidha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma to repel the Vajjians, [87] and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, [and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers².]

27. And the Blessed One, with great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pāṭaligāma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ānanda:—‘Who is it then, Ānanda, who is building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma?’

‘Sunidha and Vassakāra, lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vajjians.’

28. ‘They act, Ānanda, as if they had consulted with the Tāvatisa angels.’ [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]:—‘And as far, Ānanda, as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief city, Pāṭali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. [88] But three dangers will hang over Pāṭali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension among friends³.’

¹ Compare Vinaya III, 93.

² The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called vatthu-vijjā, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Five Nikāyas. See, for instance, I of the Mahā-sīlam, translated above, Vol. I, p. 18. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 326–34.

³ This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist as proving the Buddha’s power of prophecy and the authority of the

29. Now Sunidha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Exalted One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunidha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Exalted One :—

‘May the venerable Gotama do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.’ And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunidha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes ; and informed the Exalted One, saying :—

‘The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.’

And the Exalted One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired, with the brethren, to the dwelling-place of Sunidha and Vassakâra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Exalted One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One gave thanks in these verses :—

‘Wheresoe’er the prudent man shall take up his
abode

Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied (if any), it may be valuable evidence of the age both of the Vinaya and of this Mahā Parinibbāna Suttanta. See the note at ‘Vinaya Texts,’ II. 102.

Let him support the brethren there, good men of
 self-control,
 And give the merit of his gifts to the deities who
 haunt the spot¹.
 Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they
 honour him again;
 Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her
 only son.
 And the man who has the grace of the gods, good
 fortune he beholds.'

32. [89] And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Exalted One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, whilst some made rafts of basket-work. Then the Exalted One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Exalted One beheld the people who wished to cross to the opposite bank looking some of them for boats and some of them for rafts of wood, and some of them for rafts of basket-work; and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:—

¹ *Tāsaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ ādise.* See Therī Gāthā 307, 311; Mil. 294.

' They who have crossed the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools—
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!'¹

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, those who cross the 'ocean drear' of *tañhâ*, or craving; avoiding by means of the 'dyke' or causeway of the Aryan Path, the 'pools' or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. Dh. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,—'these are the wise, these are the saved indeed!'

CHAPTER II.

1. [१०] Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—‘ Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Koṭigāma.’

‘ So be it, lord !’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

The Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Koṭigāma ; and there he stayed in the village itself¹.

2. And at that place the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—‘ It is through not understanding and grasping four Aryan Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I !

‘ And what are these four ?’

‘ The Aryan truth about sorrow ; the Aryan truth about the cause of sorrow ; the Aryan truth about the cessation of sorrow ; and the Aryan truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these Aryan truths are grasped and known the craving for future life is rooted out, that which leads to renewed becoming is destroyed, and then there is no more birth¹²’

3. Thus spake the Exalted One ; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said :—[११]

‘ By not seeing the Aryan Truths as they really are,
Long is the path that is traversed through many
a birth :

¹ As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Exalted One stayed ; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.

² Compare below, Chapter IV, §§ 2. 3 ; p. 131.

When these are grasped, the cause of rebirth is removed,
The root of sorrow uprooted, and then there is no more birth.'

4. There too, while staying at Koṣīgāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :—' Such and such is upright conduct ; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

5. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he thought fit at Koṣīgāma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—' Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Nādikas.'

' So be it, lord ! ' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded to the Nādikas with a great company of the brethren ; and there, at Nādika, the Exalted One stayed in the Brick Hall¹.

¹ At first Nādika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number (a clan-name) ; but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular (a local name derived from the clan-name). Buddhaghosa explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. The ' Brick Hall ' was the public resting-place for travellers, and the name is noteworthy as almost all buildings were then of wood.

The expression used here is an idiomatic phrase descriptive of the arrival of travellers at a place :—' and there, at X. so and so stayed in Y.' where X. is the name of the town or village, and Y. is the lodging-place the traveller occupies. (See just above in § 1 for a good instance.) The first name, the name X., is always the name of the

6. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Exalted One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Exalted One, and said:—‘The brother named Sāḥa has died at Nāḍika, lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandā has died, lord, at Nāḍika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?’ [92] [And in the same terms he inquired concerning the lay disciple Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugata, the lay disciples Kakudha, and Kālinga, and Nikāṭa, and Kaṭissabha, and Tuṭṭha, and Santuṭṭha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.]

7. ‘The brother named Sāḥa, Ānanda, by the destruction of the Intoxications has by himself, and in this world, known and realized and attained to Arahantship, to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandā, Ānanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, ill-will, and stupidity, has become a Sakadāgāmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout Sugata, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship]¹. The devout Kakudha, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. [The same of Kālinga, Nikāṭa,

town, and never an adjective in agreement with the second name. It seems simple enough; but even the best Sanskritists appear sometimes to be unfamiliar with the force of this Pāli idiom.

¹ See Rhys Davids’s ‘Buddhism,’ pp. 108–10; above, Vol. I, pp. 190–2; below, at VI. 6, and in the translation of D. II, 201; also Divyāvadāna, pp. 533–4.

Katissabha, *Tuttha*, *Santuttha*, Bhadda, and Subhadda, [93] and with more than fifty devout men in Nâdika.] More than ninety devout men in Nâdika, who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, ill-will and stupidity, become Sakadâgâmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nâdika who have died, Ânanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of hereafter attaining the enlightenment [of Arahantship].

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ânanda, that a human being should die; but that as each one does so you should come to me, and inquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to me. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:—"Purgatory is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship]."

9. 'What then, Ânanda, is this Mirror of Truth? [It is the consciousness that] the disciple of the Arahants is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha—believing the Exalted One to be the Arahant, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Exalted and Awakened One. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the Truth to have been proclaimed by the Exalted One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Exalted One who are walking in the

four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding—[94] believing this church of the Exalted One to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to concentration of heart¹.

‘This, Ānanda, is the way, the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:—“Purgatory is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of finally attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship].”’

10. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nāḍika the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:—‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

11. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he wished at Nāḍika, he addressed Ānanda, and said:—‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesālī.’

¹ See above, I, 11.

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesālī; and there at Vesālī the Exalted One stayed at Ambapālī's grove.

12. Now there the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—'Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed; this is our instruction to you¹.

'And how does a brother become mindful?

'Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, [95] self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way as to feelings, moods, or ideas, he continues so to look upon each] that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

13. 'And how does a brother become self-possessed?

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out or coming in, in looking forward or in looking round, in bending in his arm or in stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or in carrying his bowl, in eating or drinking, in masticating or swallowing, in obeying the calls of nature, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

'Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed; this is our instruction to you².

¹ Quoted Mil. 378.

² This doctrine of being 'mindful and self-possessed' is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Piṭakas, and is one of the 'Seven Jewels of the Law.' It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the *Maha Satippa//hāna Suttanta* in the *Nikāyas*, forming the subject of the *Maha Satippa//hāna Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and the *Satippa//hāna Samyutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, as well as of various passages in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, and of the *Vibhaṅga*. See above, Vol. I, pp. 80, 81; and the translation, below, of pp. 290 foll. of the text. The point is there discussed in detail.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving

14. ¹ Now the courtesan Ambapāli heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesālī, and was staying there at her mango grove. And ordering a number of state vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and went forth with her train from Vesālī towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One, and said:—

‘May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow?’

And the Exalted One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapāli the courtesan saw that the Exalted One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

what he has to say for the comment on the Suttantas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Exalted One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being ‘mindful and thoughtful,’ was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase *sati upa//hāpetabbā* below, Chap. V, 9 (text, p. 141), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.

¹ From this point down to the words ‘he rose from his seat,’ in II, 24 is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Vinaya, Vol. I, pp. 231–3. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 14–18) localized at Vesālī, are there localized at Koṣīgāma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 18 and II, 19; and our section II, 11 does not occur at all, the Exalted One only reaching Ambapāli’s grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 19) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddha-ghosa passes over this apparent discrepancy in silence.

15. [96] Now the Licchavis of Vesâli heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesâli, and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, they each mounted one of them and went forth with their train from Vesâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

16. And Ambapâli drove up against the young Licchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Licchavis said to Ambapâli the courtesan:—'How is it, Ambapâli, that thou drivest up against us thus?'

'My lords, I have just invited the Exalted One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,' said she.

'Ambapâli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,' said they.

'My lords, were you to offer all Vesâli with its subject territory, I would not give up so honourable a feast!'

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming:—'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl!'¹ and they went on to Ambapâli's grove.

17. When the Exalted One saw the Licchavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:—

'O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the *Tāvātimsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchavis, behold this company of the Licchavis, compare this company of the Licchavis—for they are even as a company of *Tāvātimsa* gods².'

¹ Literally 'by this woman.' But I have tried to reproduce the evident word-play. Ambapâli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.

² The *Tāvātimsa*-devâ are the gods in the heaven of the Great

18. [97] And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Licchavis alighted there, and then went on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse¹.

Then they—instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One, and said :—‘ May the Exalted One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow ? ’

‘ O Licchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapāli the courtesan,’ was the reply.

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming :—‘ We are outdone by this mango girl ! we are out-reached by this mango girl ! ’ And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Exalted One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

19. And at the end of the night Ambapāli the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Exalted One, saying :—‘ The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready ! ’

And the Exalted One who had dressed himself early in the morning, took his bowl, and his robe, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapāli’s mansion was : and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapāli

Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. See A. III, 239 ; Sum. I, 310 ; Mahāvastu I, 262.

¹ The *Malālankāra-vatthu* gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. ‘ The princes had come in their finest and richest dress ; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.’—Bigandet, 2nd ed., p. 260.

the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the Order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, and had cleansed the bowl and his hands, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and [98] sat down at his side, and addressed the Exalted One, and said :—‘ Lord, I present this pleasance to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.’ And the Exalted One accepted the gift ; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence.¹

20. While at Ambapâli’s mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :—‘ Such and such is upright conduct ; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

21. Now when the Exalted One had remained so long as he wished at Ambapâli’s grove, he addressed Ānanda, and said :—‘ Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Beluva ².’

¹ Bishop Bigandet says :—‘ In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of the conversion of ‘ a woman that was a sinner,’ mentioned in the Gospels (‘ Legend of the Burmese Budha,’ 2nd ed., p. 258).

² The Vinaya (I, 233) says they went to the Great Wood near

'So be it, lord,' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

22. Now the Exalted One there addressed the brethren, and said :—'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates may live, for the retreat in the rainy season [for vassa]. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

'So be it, lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates lived : [99] whilst the Exalted One stayed even there at Beluva.

23. Now when the Exalted One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

Then this thought occurred to the Exalted One :—'It would not be right for me to pass away without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the Order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come'.

And the Exalted One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

24. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover. And when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he came out from his lodging, and sat down in the shadow thereof on a seat spread out there. And

Vesālī, that is, it skips the context here as far as III, 64. Our sections 27-35 are in the *Samyutta V*, 152-4.

¹ Compare *Divyāvadāna* 203.

the venerable Ānanda went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the Exalted One, and said:—‘I have beheld, lord, how the Exalted One was in health, and I have beheld how the Exalted One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Exalted One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear¹, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Exalted One would not pass away until at least he had left instructions as touching the Order.’

25. [100] ‘What, then, Ānanda? Does the Order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back². Surely, Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, “It is I who will lead the brotherhood,” or, ‘The Order is dependent upon me,’ it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order? I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up³. It is only, Ānanda, when the Tathāgata, by

¹ Compare A. III, 69.

² Compare Jātaka II, 221, 250; Mil. 144.

³ Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The *Malālankāra-vatthu*, as rendered by Bigandet, has ‘repairs.’ The *Sumangala Vilāsinī* agrees, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (V. 153) the

ceasing to attend to any outward thing, becomes plunged by the cessation of any separate sensation in that concentration of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathâgata is at ease¹.

26. 'Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ânanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the Truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the Truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues, as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way] as to feelings . . . moods . . . ideas, he continues so to look upon each that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

[101] 'And whosoever, Ânanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth as

Burmese Phayre MS. reads vekhamissakena and another Burmese MS. vedha—but SS. all read vegha. The Siamese edition has ve/u. My Digha Nikâya confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. On the use of the word missaka at the end of a compound see Jâtaka II, 8, 420, 433; and compare M. I, 82; Thera-gâthâ 143; Mil. 159; and the discussion in 'J. P. T. S.', 1884, pp. 97-101.

¹ This is very interesting as giving what is, no doubt, the original meaning of animitta as applied to ceto-samâdhi. See my 'Yogâvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism,' p. xxvii.

² This section recurs at S. V, 163, compare III, 42, and the example given at V, 221.

their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the Truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my bhikkhus, who shall reach the very topmost Height¹—but they must be anxious to learn¹.

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

¹ Buddhaghosa says:—‘Tamatagge is for tamagge. The “t” in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, “These are the most pre-eminent, the very chief.” Having, as above stated, broken every bond of darkness (tama), those bhikkhus of mine, Ānanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. They will be at the very top of whom? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahantship the three-peaked height of his discourse’ (compare on this last phrase *Nibbānena desanākutam gāṇhātī*, *Jātaka* I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). *Uttama*, the highest (scil. bhava, condition), is used absolutely of Arahantship or Nirvana at *Jātaka* I, 96; *Agga-phala* occurs in the same sense at *Jātaka* I, 114; and even *Phalagga* at *Mahāvamsa* XV, 209. The last words, ‘but they must be anxious to learn,’ seem to me to be an afterthought. It is only those who are thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience Nirvana. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere.

CHAPTER III.

1.¹ [102] Now the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesâli for alms. When, after he had returned from the round for alms, he had finished eating the rice, he addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :— 'Take up the mat, Ânanda; I will go and spend the day at the Châpâla Shrine.'

'So be it, lord!' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Exalted One.

2. So the Exalted One proceeded to the Châpâla Shrine, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ânanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said :— 'How delightful a spot, Ânanda, is Vesâlî, and how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine, and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sârândada Shrine, and the Châpâla Shrine ²!

3. [103] 'Ânanda, whosoever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi ³, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a

¹ 1-20 recur in A. IV, 308 foll.; 1-10 in Udâna VI, 1 and S. V, 259 foll. Compare Divy., pp. 200-8

² Shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship. They were probably trees and barrows; but as no excavations have yet been made at Vesâlî the point is uncertain. The Anglo-Indian use of the word Chetiyâ, as equivalent to our Temple, is quite wrong.

³ Iddhi. The four paths are :—(1) will, (2) effort, (3) thought, and (4) investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against evil. On the Iddhi to be reached by them see above, Vol. I pp. 272, 273; and the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-7. The whole set of participles is used elsewhere of other conditions of mind. So, for instance, of universal love (mettâ) at A. V, 342, quoted Jâtaka II, 61, Mil. 198. An ancient commentary on them is preserved at Pâñic. I, 172.

basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.¹

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Exalted One, the venerable Ānanda was incapable of comprehending them; [104] and he besought not the Exalted One, saying:—'Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon! Live on through the aeon, O Happy One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!' So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One¹.

5. A second and a third time did the Exalted One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ānanda's heart thus hardened].

6. Then the Exalted One addressed the vener-

¹ Yathâ tam Mârena pariyu//hitacitto. Here *tam* is the indeclinable particle, *yathâ tam* introducing an explanation. My MS. of the Digha Nikâya and the Turnour MS. of the Sumangala Vilâsini read *parivu//hita*, and either spelling is correct. The fact is that the 'y' or 'v' in such cases is even less than euphonic; it is an assistance not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Sinhalese *duwanawâ*, 'to run,' the spoken word is *duanawâ*, and the 'w' is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a written word of the initial sign for the sound 'a'. That the speakers of Pâli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Pâli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign *to carry the vowel sign*. The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars (in this case *pari-u//hita*); and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Pâli, but concerning the use which modern native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore *pari-utthita-citto*. See Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' p. 40; M. I, 433-4; Vin. II, 289; IV. 94, 229.

able Ānanda, and said :—‘ You may leave me, Ānanda, awhile, and do whatsoever now seemeth to thee fit.’

‘ So be it, lord !’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One, and passing him on the right sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ānanda had been gone, Māra, the Evil One, approached the Exalted One and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Exalted One in these words :—

‘ Pass away now, lord ; let the Exalted One now die. Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away—even according to the word which the Exalted One spoke when he said ¹ :—“ I shall not die, O Evil One ! until the brethren and sisters of the Order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex ² shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it, to spread the wonder-working ³ truth abroad !”

8. ‘ And now, lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. [108] Pass away now therefore, lord ; let the Exalted One now die ! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away—

¹ The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha, after he had been enjoying the first bliss of Nirvana, under the goatherd’s Nigrodha tree (see below, ch. III, § 34).

² The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, § 35, for each of these classes of persons.

³ *Sappa/ihāriyam dhammam*. (Comp. the opposite idea *appa/ihāra-katam bhāsitaṃ*, D. I, 193, 239.) The two ideas are contrasted at KV. 561.

even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men." And now, lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, lord; let the Exalted One now die! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away!'

9. [106] And when he had thus spoken, the Exalted One addressed Māra, the Evil One, and said:—'O Evil One! make thyself happy, the death of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will pass away.'

10. Thus the Exalted One while at the Shrine of Chāpāla deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his natural term of life¹. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. [107] And when the Exalted One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation:—

'His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause!'²

11.³ Now the following thought occurred to the

¹ *Âyu-samkhâram* ossaji. The difficult term *Âyu-samkhâra* must here have the meaning in which it is used at Majjhima I, pp. 295, 296; *Samyutta* II, 266; *Jâtaka* IV, 215. He renounced those tendencies, potentialities, which in the ordinary course of things, would otherwise have led to the putting together of, the building up of, more life (that is, of course, in this birth. Any more life in a future birth he had already renounced when, under the Wisdom Tree, he attained Nirvana).

² This verse is obscure and possibly corrupt. See Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' pp. 37, 72; *Ud.* VI, 1; *S.* V, 263; *Div.* 203.

³ The narrative is now interrupted by the insertion of paragraphs which at first sight seem to be quite out of place. But the connexion, or want of connexion, between them and the main story is very

venerable Ānanda :—‘Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?’

12. Then the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Exalted One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said :—‘Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?’

13. ‘Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight ? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake’.

14. [108] ‘Again, Ānanda, a recluse or a brahmin of great [intellectual] power, and who has the feelings

suggestive as to the way in which the Suttanta was put together. The whole chapter is an answer to a possible objection, either from outsiders or from weaker members of the fold, that if the Buddha were really so great why did he die at all. The suggested answer is that he could have lived on if he had so wished ; but he did not wish because he had certain kinds of power and insight and self-mastery which prevented him from doing so. For the purpose of this answer these paragraphs, already in existence among the Suttas current in the community, and dealing with these powers, are here repeated without any such connecting argument as we should find under similar circumstances, in a modern (written) book of apologetics. The argument suggested by them follows exactly the same lines as that in the Mahāli Suttanta, translated in the former volume (Number VI of the ‘Dialogues’).

¹ Windisch, ‘Mara und Buddha,’ 61, adduces a number of interesting parallels, from European writers, to this curious old theory of earthquakes.

of his heart well under his control ; or a god or fairy (devatâ¹) of great might and power,—when such a one by intense meditation on the idea of the minutest portion of earth and on the idea of the widest expanse of water [has succeeded in realizing the comparative value of things] he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently². These are the second causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

¹ Devatâ is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Indian ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts ; tree and river nymphs ; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' Tale 40) ; spirits in the ground (see above, I, 26) ; the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha ; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries ; and many other similar beings. 'Celestial beings' would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (I, 26). 'Super-human being' would be an inaccurate rendering ; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. 'Spirit' being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which are included under devatâ—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pâli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatâs being referred to, and there being no word in English for them all, I have ventured to put the word devatâ into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

² Buddhaghosa here tells a long story how Sangharakkhita Sâmañera, the nephew of Nâga Thera, attained Arahantship on the day of his admission to the order ; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe ; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein ! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings. The train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated.

15. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his [temporary] form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake¹.

16. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Again, Ânanda, when a Tathâgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently.

¹ The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-4), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Indians strove to embellish the life-story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the *Lalitâ Vistara* (Calc. ed., p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Mâyâ precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech—and I venture to think from the Indian standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech—to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In one of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.

This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata passes entirely [109] away in that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.'

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ānanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight? Assemblies of nobles, brahmins, householders and wanderers, and of the angel hosts of the Guardian Kings, of the Great Thirty-Three, of the Māras, and of the Brahmās.

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred¹ nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse I used to instruct and incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say:—"Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away: and would say:—"Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?"

23. [And in the same words the Exalted One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight assemblies.'

¹ Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' p. 75, makes this number refer to the number of entrances, and quotes *Itivuttaka*, p. 15, in support. The Singhalese version (p. 758) is as above.

24. [110] 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight positions of Mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things¹]. What are the eight ?

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself that are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for instance, as the flax blossom is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue ; or, again,

¹ This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long- vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, *sub voce* *nirodha*.

as that fine muslin of Benares, of delicate finish on both sides, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.'

30-2. [111] [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue; and the Kanikara flower, the Bandhu-givaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the flax blossom, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33.¹ [112] 'Now these stages of Deliverance, Ânanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms], are eight in number. Which are the eight?

'A man possessed of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

'Unaware of his own form, he sees forms external to himself—this is the second stage of deliverance.

'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent—this is the third stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of sensory impact², by paying no attention to the idea of multiformity, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason,"

¹ These have already occurred in the Mahâ Nidâna (p. 70 of the text). The English version here is made somewhat fuller.

² On these technical terms see Mrs. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Psychology,' pp. 72, 182, 204.

reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

‘By passing quite beyond the consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking “nothing at all exists,” reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

‘By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

‘By passing quite beyond the state of “neither ideas nor the absence of ideas” he reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

‘Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.’

34. ‘On one occasion, Ānanda, I was resting under the goatherd’s Nigrodha tree on the bank of the river Nerañjarā immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Māra, the Evil One, came, Ānanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words:—“Pass away now, lord, from existence! Let the Exalted One now die! Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away!”

35. [113] ‘And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I addressed Māra, the Evil One, and said:—“I shall not pass away, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the Order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until

they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it to spread the wonder-working truth abroad! I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!"

36. 'And now again to-day, Ânanda, at Châpâla's Shrine Mâra, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

37. [114] 'And when he had thus spoken, Ânanda, I answered him and said:—"Make thyself happy, the passing away of the Tathâgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will pass away!"

'And now again, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has to-day at Châpâla's Shrine consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.'

38. [115] And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ânanda addressed the Exalted One, and said:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon: live on through the kalpa, O Exalted One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!"

'Enough now, Ânanda, beseech not the Tathâgata!' was the reply. 'The time for making such request is past.'

39. And again, the second time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words. And he received from the Exalted One the same reply].

And again, the third time, the venerable Ânanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words].

'Hast thou faith, Ânanda, in the wisdom of the Tathâgata?'

'Even so, lord!'

'Now why, then, Ânanda, dost thou trouble the Tathâgata even until the third time?'

40. 'From his own mouth have I heard from the Exalted One, from his own mouth have I received

this saying :—" Whosoever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run." Now the Tathâgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.'

'Hast thou faith, Ânanda?'

'Even so, lord!'

'Then, O Ânanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying :—" Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!'

41. 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at Râjagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—[110] "How pleasant a spot, Ânanda, is Râjagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak. Whosoever, Ânanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for

that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying :—" Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One ! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence !

42. ' On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling at that same Râjagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha at the Robbers' Cliff—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in the Sitavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasonadika—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in Jivaka's Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Râjagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi.

43. ' Now there too, Ânanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—" How pleasant, Ânanda, is Râjagaha ; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak ; how pleasant the Banyan tree of Gotama ; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff ; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhâra ; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili ; how pleasant the mountain cave of the Serpent's Pool in the Sitavana Grove ; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove ; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove ; how pleasant Jivaka's Mango Grove ; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi !"

44. [117] "Whosoever, Ananda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying :—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

45. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was residing here at Vesālī at the Udena Shrine. And there too, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—"How pleasant, Ānanda, is Vesālī: how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ānanda, has thought out, developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run." But when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus

given thee by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

46. [118] 'On one occasion, Ânanda, I was dwelling here at Vesâli at the Gotamaka Shrine—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Bahuputta Shrine,—on one occasion here at Vesâli at the Sârândada Shrine [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ânanda, in the same words].

47. 'And now to-day, Ânanda, at the Châpâla Shrine, I spoke to thee, and said:—"How delightful a spot, Ânanda, is Vesâli, how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sârândada Shrine, and the Châpâla Shrine. Whosoever, Ânanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathâgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee, Ânanda, by the Tathâgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathâgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during

the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ânanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!'

48. 'But now, Ânanda, have I not formerly declared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And that which, Ânanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathâgata—the remaining sum of life surrendered by him—verily with regard to that the word has gone forth from the Tathâgata, saying:—"The passing away of the Tathâgata shall take place before long. [119] At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die!" That the Tathâgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying—this can no wise be!'

'Come, Ânanda, let us go to the Kûâgâra Hall, to the Mahâvana.'

¹ I do not understand the connexion of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition; and certainly this paragraph is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other sayings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pâli Piâkas.

Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

49. Then the Exalted One proceeded, and Ānanda with him, to the Mahāvana, to the Kûṭāgāra Hall: and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—

'Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesālī, he went to the Exalted One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Exalted One, and said:—

'Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Exalted One do even as seemeth to him fit.'

50. Then the Exalted One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—

'Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

'Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

[120] 'They are these :—

The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against evil.
The four roads to saintship,
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom, and
The Aryan eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !'

51. And the Exalted One exhorted the brethren, and said : --

'Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying :—
"All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathâgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die!"'

'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close :
I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone !
Be earnest then, O brethren, holy, full of thought !
Be steadfast in resolve ! Keep watch o'er your own hearts !

Who wearies not but holds fast to this truth and law¹,

Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief.'

End of the Third Portion for Recitation².

¹ Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarized, and the regulations of the Order.

² It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time,

when death was so near at hand, is reported to have lain such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Páli ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note.

The four Earnest Meditations are:—

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.
3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against evil is divided into:—

1. The struggle to prevent evil arising.
2. The struggle to put away evil states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which Iddhi (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are:—

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

The five moral powers (*balāni*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*indriyāni*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven Ratanas of a Cakkavatti?

The details of both classes are :—

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation. 5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom are :—

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of Scripture). 5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Aryan Eightfold Path consists of :—

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct. 5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing. 7. Intellectual activity. 8. Right rapture.

CHAPTER IV.

1. [122] Now the Exalted One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesâli for alms; and when he had passed through Vesâli, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesâli with an elephant look¹ and addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said:—‘This will be the last time, Ânanda, that the Tathâgata will behold Vesâli. Come, Ânanda, let us go on to *Bhanda-gâma*.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to *Bhanda-gâma*; and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—‘It is through not understanding and grasping four truths², O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.

‘And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. [123] But when noble conduct is realized and known, when noble meditation is realized and known, when noble wisdom is realized and known, when noble freedom is realized and known—then is the craving for future life rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.’

¹ *Nâgâpalokitam Vesâliyam apaloketvâ*. The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men!

² Or Conditions (*Dhammâ*). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths above, p. 96.

3. Thus spake the Exalted One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said¹ :—

‘ Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—

These are the truths realized by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, is at peace².’

4. There too, while staying at Bhaṇḍa-gāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :—‘ Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The

¹ This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved.

² The last word, Parinibbuto, was misunderstood by Childers. It is used in the Nikāyas of living persons in the sense of set free (from evil), at peace. In one passage (M. I, 446) it is even used of a living horse. In all of these passages Childers’s rendering ‘extinguished, extinct, dead’ would be quite inexplicable. Such passages are Majjhima I, 45, 235, 251; II, 102; Thera-gāthā 5, 7, 8, 9, &c.; Sutta Nipāta 359, 758; Samyutta III, 26, 54; Itivuttaka 52, 56; Dhammapada 89. The same usage is still found in later books (Milinda 50; Jātaka IV, 303, 453). But, just as in the somewhat analogous Christian expression *entered into rest*, the word (still in its ordinary meaning as above) is once or twice used, figuratively, of Arahants who have died. They are at peace, set free. There is no word in the Buddhist phrase corresponding to the Christian ‘entered.’ The Buddhists never say *entered into Nirvana* of a deceased person. So far as I know the phrase occurs only once (Sutta Nipāta 514), and then it is used of a living person.

mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

5, 6. Now when the Exalted One had remained at *Bhanda-gâma* as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable *Ānanda*, and said:—'Come, *Ānanda*, let us go to *Hatthi-gâma*.'

[Then in similar words, end of § 1 and §§ 2, 3, and 4 repeated, it is related how the Buddha went there, and then on to *Amba-gâma*, and then on to *Jambugâma*, at each place holding similar discourses; and then went on to *Bhoga-nagara*.]

7. Now there at *Bhoga-nagara* the Exalted One stayed at the *Ānanda Shrine*.

There the Exalted One addressed the brethren and said:—'I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great Authorities¹. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.'

[124] 'Even so, lord!' said the brethren, in assent², to the Exalted One, and the Exalted One spoke as follows:—

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus:—"From the mouth of the Exalted One himself

¹ The meaning of *mahâpadesa* is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered 'true authorities.' I have followed *Buddhaghosa* in taking *apadesa* as the last part of the compound. He says:—*mahâ-padesâ ti mahâ-okâse mahâ-apadese vâ. Buddhâdayo mahante mahante apadisitva vuttâni mahâkaranâni ti attho*, 'the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.' Mr. *Samarasekara* takes it as *mahâ-padesa*.

² I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from *Childers* in the rendering of the common word *patisunâti*. The root *śru* seems to have meant 'to sound' before it meant 'to hear'; and, whether this be so or not, *pati-sunâti* means not simply 'to consent,' but 'to answer (assentingly)'. It has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly *andswerian* where *swerian* is probably not unrelated to the root *svar*, 'to sound.'

have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood and then put beside the Suttas [the stock paragraphs learnt by heart in the community] and compared with the Vinaya [the rules of the Order]¹. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—"Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—"Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Authority.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus:—"In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—"Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize

¹ *Sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni*, where one would expect to find the word *Piṭaka* if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.

with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion.—[125] “Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren.” This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Authority.

10. ‘Again, brethren, a brother may say thus:—“In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the Order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.” The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—“Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders.” Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—“Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by those elders.” This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Authority.

11. ‘Again, brethren, a brother may say:—“In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.” The word spoken, brethren, by that

brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—"Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion:—**[120]** "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Authority.

'These, brethren, are the Four Great Authorities.'

12. There too, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:—"Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

13. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gâma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—"Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pāvā.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent to the Exalted One. And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pāvā.

And there at Pāvā the Exalted One stayed at the Mango Grove of Chunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Chunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Exalted One had come to Pāvā, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And Chunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Exalted One, and said:—‘May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow?’

And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Exalted One had consented, [127] Chunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, Chunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of truffles¹. And he

¹ *Sūkara-maddava*. See the note in my translation of the *Milinda* (1890), Vol. I, p. 244. Dr. Hoey informs me that the peasantry in these districts are still very fond of a bulbous root, a sort of truffle, found in the jungle, and called *sūkara-kanda*. Mr. K. E. Neumann, in his translation of the *Majjhima* (1896), p. xx, has collected several similar instances of truffle-like roots, or edible plants, having such names. The Sinhalese translation of the *Dīgha* (London and Colombo, 1905), p. 796, simply repeats the Pāli word. Buddhists do not attach much importance to the point. They have been mostly vegetarians, and are increasingly so. But their scheme of ethics works from within; and the Buddha expressly refused, in the case of Devadatta's schism, to lay down any hard and fast rule as to abstinence from flesh as food. It is perhaps of importance that the food prepared by Chunda and eaten by the Buddha is called *Bhatta* (below, § 21): this is not used elsewhere of meat.

announced the hour to the Exalted One, saying :—‘ The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready.’

18. And the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Chunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said :—‘ As to the truffles you have made ready, serve me with them, Chunda : and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.’

‘ Even so, lord ! ’ said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the truffles he had made ready he served to the Exalted One ; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the Order.

19. Now the Exalted One addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said :—‘ Whatever truffles, Chunda, are left over to thee, those bury in a hole. I see no one, Chunda, on earth nor in Māra’s heaven, nor in Brahma’s heaven, no one among Samanas and Brāhmanas, among gods, and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be properly assimilated, save by a Tathāgata.’

‘ Even so, lord ! ’ said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Exalted One. And whatever truffles remained over those he buried in a hole. And he went to the place where the Exalted One was ; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Chunda, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Exalted One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

20. Now when the Exalted One had eaten the rice prepared by Chunda, the worker in metals, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. [128] But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Kusinārā.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

‘When he had eaten Chunda’s food,
The copper-smith’s—thus have I heard—
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death!’

When he had eaten, from the truffles in the food
There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Exalted One
announced and said:

‘I now am going on to Kusinārā¹.’

21. Now the Exalted One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘Fold, I pray you, Ānanda, the robe in four; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ānanda, and must rest awhile!’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Exalted One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

22. And the Exalted One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.’

When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda said to the Exalted One:—‘But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. [129] This river *Kakuttha*, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to

¹ ‘It should be understood,’ says Buddhaghosa, ‘that these are verses by the Theras who held the council.’ And he repeats this at §§ 38, 41. These here seem to be two different versifications of the same legend.

get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

23. Again the second time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—' Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

And again the second time the venerable Ananda said to the Exalted One :—' But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river *Kakuttha*, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

24. Again the third time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—' Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.'

' Even so, lord !' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Exalted One : and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo ! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ānanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

25. Then Ānanda thought :—' How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the *Tathāgata* !¹ For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Exalted One ; and when he had come where the Exalted One was he said to him :—' How wonderful,

¹ This is a most unusual way of speaking of the Buddha. In the Suttantas believers are represented as addressing him as *bhante*, lord or sir (the same form as that used by junior members of the Order in addressing their seniors); and as speaking of him by the epithet *Bhagavā* the Exalted One. Unbelievers address him as *bho Gotama*, and speak of him as the *Samāna Gotama*.

how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathâgata ! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Exalted One drink the water ! Let the Happy One drink the water !¹

Then the Exalted One drank of the water.

26. [130] Now at that time a man named Pukkusa¹, a young Mallian, a disciple of Â/âra Kâlâma's, was passing along the high road from Kusinârâ to Pâvâ.

And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Exalted One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Exalted One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Exalted One :—' How wonderful a thing it is, lord ! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm !

27. ' Formerly, lord, A/âra Kâlâma was once walking along the high road ; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Â/âra Kâlâma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Â/âra Kâlâma was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Â/âra Kâlâma :—

" But, lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by ? "

" No, indeed, I saw them not. "

¹ The Pukkusas were one of the despised tribes. Compare M. II, 152 ; A. II, 85 ; PP. IV, 19 ; Jât. IV, 205, 306 ; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were Khattiyas. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by ; and that Â/âra Kâlâma was called Â/âra because he was Digha-pingalo, Kâlâma being his family name.

“ But, lord, did you hear the sound of them ? ”

“ No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound.”

“ But, lord, were you then asleep ? ”

“ No, sir, I was not asleep.”

“ But, lord, were you then conscious ? ”

“ Even so, sir.”

“ So that you, lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them ! ”

“ It is even so, sir.”

‘ Then thought that man :—“ How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm ! [131] So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him.”

‘ And after giving utterance to his deep faith in A/âra Kâlâma, he departed thence.’

28. ‘ Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing ? ’

29. ‘ What in comparison, lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts ? That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.’

30. ‘ Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling

at Âtumâ, and was at the Threshing-floor. And at that time the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Âtumâ, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.'

31. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side. And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man:—

32. "Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?"

[132] "But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, lord, were you?"

"I, sir, have been here all the while."

"But, lord, did you see it?"

"I, sir, saw nothing."

"But, lord, did you hear it?"

"I, sir, heard nothing."

"Were you then, lord, asleep?"

"I, sir, was not asleep."

"Were you then conscious, lord?"

"Even so, sir."

"So that you, lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing."

"That is so, sir."

33. 'Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man:—

“How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!—so that a man, being conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.” And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me [with the customary demonstrations of respect].’

34. And when he had thus spoken, Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words:—‘Now I, lord, as to the faith that I had in *Āra Kālāma*, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. [133] And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Exalted One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

35. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man and said:—‘Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.’

‘So be it, sir!’ said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

¹ This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.

And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Exalted One, saying :—‘ Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Exalted One show me favour and accept it at my hands !’

‘ In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ānanda in one.’

‘ Even so, lord !’ said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Exalted One ; and in one he robed the Exalted One, and in one, Ānanda.

36. Then the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Exalted One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Exalted One ; and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

37. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Exalted One ; and when it was so placed on the body of the Exalted One it appeared to have lost its splendour¹ !

And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :—‘ How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Exalted One should

¹ To understand what is here represented to have happened one must understand the mode in which the Buddhist Wanderers wore their robes. There was no tailoring at all. The set of three robes was simply three lengths of cotton cloth about a yard wide. One piece, folded in half, was wrapped round the body. Another piece covered the limbs from the waist to the ankles. It was supported by a girdle and went three or four times round. The third piece was put on over this last, went twice round the legs, and then the rest of it was thrown over the left shoulder, and passed under the right arm across the body. See below, ch. V, § 19

Pukkusa had placed the two lengths of cloth, shawl-wise, over the shoulders of the recipients. When he left them Ānanda assisted the Buddha to put them on as Nos. 1 and 3 of a set of robes.

be so clear, so exceeding bright ! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body [134] of the Exalted One, lo ! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour !

‘It is even so, Ânanda. There are two occasions, Ânanda, on which the colour of the skin of a Tathâgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two ?

‘On the night, Ânanda, on which a Tathâgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathâgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

38. ‘And now this day, Ânanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinârâ, in the Sâla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sâla trees, the utter passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Come, Ânanda ! Let us go on to the river Kakutthâ.’

‘Even so, lord !’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold ¹ !

39. Now the Exalted One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthâ ; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

¹ We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual ‘transfiguration’ of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ânanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event ; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels.

And when he was come there he addressed the venerable Chundaka, and said:—‘Fold, I pray you, Chundaka, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Chundaka, and would lie down.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Chundaka, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

40. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed he meditated, intending to rise up again in due time. [135] And the venerable Chundaka seated himself there in front of the Exalted One.

41. The Buddha to Kakutthâ’s river came,
Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow.
He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
The Buddha without equal in the world!
When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
Crossed o’er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
There spake he to the brother Chundaka:—
‘Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.’
Urged by the Holy One, he quickly spread
The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
And there, before him, Chunda took his seat.

42. And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘Now it may happen, Ānanda, that some one should stir up remorse in Chunda the smith, by saying:—“This is evil to thee, Chunda, and loss to thee in that when the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died.” Any such remorse, Ānanda, in Chunda the smith should be checked by saying:—“This is good to thee, Chunda, and gain to thee, in that when the Tathâgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Exalted One, Chunda, have I heard,

from his own mouth have I received this saying :—
 ' These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other—and which are the two ? [136]
 The offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight ; and the offering of food which, when a Tathâgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by Chunda the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.' " In this way, Ânanda, should be checked any remorse in Chunda the smith ¹.

43. Then the Exalted One, perceiving how the matter stood, uttered on that occasion this hymn of exultation :—

' To him who gives shall virtue be increased ;
 In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise ;
 The righteous man casts off all evil ways,
 And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
 And all infatuation, is at peace ! '

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing
 The Episode of Â/âra.

¹ Here, and above pp. 137-9, we have spelt the name of the smith, in English, as it is pronounced in Pâli, and should be pronounced in English.

CHAPTER V.

1. [187] Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—‘ Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati.’

‘ Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—

‘ Spread over for me, I pray you, Ānanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees’. I am weary, Ānanda, and would lie down.’

‘ Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

2. Now at that time the twin Sāla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; and

‘ According to the commentator ‘tradition says that there was a row of Sāla trees at the head (śiśa) of that couch, and another at its foot, one young Sāla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sāla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) chieftain of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Exalted One asked Ānanda to make ready.’

There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sīsakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers-by.

all over the body of the Tathāgata¹ these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descended and sprinkled [138] and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

3. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda and said:—‘The twin Sāla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathāgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

‘Now it is not thus, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathāgata with the worthiest homage.

¹ We have here the unusual case of the Buddha being called Tathāgata, not by himself, but by a third person, the compiler of the Suttanta. The paragraph is perhaps moulded by inadvertence on the next one. But see § 10. Compare the note above on IV, 25.

Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts; and thus Ānanda, should it be taught.'

4. Now at that time the venerable Upavāna was standing in front of the Exalted One, fanning him. And the Exalted One was not pleased with Upavāna, and he said to him :—'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!'

Then this thought sprang up in the mind of the venerable Ānanda :—[139] 'This venerable Upavāna had long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :—"Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him?'

5. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :—'This venerable Upavāna has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :—"Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him?'

'In great numbers, Ānanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathāgata. For twelve leagues, Ānanda, around the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits¹. And the spirits, Ānanda, are mur-

¹ Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (devatāyo) could stand āragga-koṭi-nittūdana- (MS. nittadana-) matte pi, 'on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,' without inconveniencing one another (aññam aññam avyābādhenti). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point

muring, and say :—" From afar have we come to behold the Tathâgata. Few and far between are the Tathâgatas, the Arahant Buddhas who appear in the world : and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathâgata will take place ; and this eminent brother stands in front of the Tathâgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathâgata"; thus, Ānanda, do the spirits murmur.'

6. 'But of what kind of spirits is the Exalted One thinking?'

'There are spirits, Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, [140] who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought :—" Too soon will the Exalted One die! Too soon will the Exalted One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away! "

'There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall pros-

of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on nittûdana, but there can be little doubt that Childers's conjectural reading is correct.

¹ It is literally, 'the Eye in the world will vanish away,' where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called 'He with the Eye,' 'He of the Spiritual Eye' (see, for instance, the last verses in this Book), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.

trate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought :—" Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight."

' But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins :—" Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist ¹ !"]

7. ' In times past, lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathāgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One. But, lord, after the end of the Exalted One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One.'

8. ' There are these four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence. Which are the four ?

' The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say :—" Here the Tathāgata was born !" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

' The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say :—" Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight !" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

' The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say :—" Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata !" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

' The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say :—" Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to

¹ The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 48 above. See par. VI, 19 below.

remain behind!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. [141] These are the four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence.

'And there will come, Ānanda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the Order, or devout men and devout women, and will say:—"Here was the Tathāgata born!" or, "Here did the Tathāgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!" or, "Here the Tathāgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!"

'And they, Ānanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

9. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, lord, with regard to womankind?'

'As not seeing them, Ānanda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do?'

'No talking, Ānanda.'

'But if they should speak to us, lord, what are we to do?'

'Keep wide awake, Ānanda.'

10. 'What are we to do, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the brahmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.

11. 'But what should be done, lord, with the remains of the Tathâgata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathâgata.'

'And how, lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ananda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool³. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth, [142] and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron⁴. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds

¹ This conversation occurs also below (VI, 17), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connexion.

² King of kings is an adequate rendering of the 'King of the Rolling Wheel,' the wheels of whose chariot roll unhindered through the land; that is to say, a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is an acknowledged overlord. The idea, which is explained very fully in the next Suttanta, may have arisen with the rise of the Kosala power; but it may also be later. If we could trace its history it would afford us a guide to the date at which the Mahâ Parinibbâna Suttanta assumed its present form.

³ Buddhaghosa explains this passage thus:—'As Benares cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore says:—"with vihata cotton wool," that is, with cotton wool that has been well forced asunder.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn' with grief.

⁴ *Āyasāya tela-doniyâ*, where one would expect *āyasāya*, but my MS. of the *Dīgha Nikāya* confirms twice over here, and twice again below (VI, 33, 35) the reading given by Childers. Buddhaghosa says the word here means gold. *Āyas* was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As *kamsa* is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pāli texts, I think *āyasa* (not *ayasa*) would here mean 'of iron.' When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed. The whole process as described is not very intelligible; and one might suppose that *ayasa* after all had nothing to do with any metal, and was a technical term descriptive of some particular size or shape or colour of oil vessel. But it is frequently found in the MSS. when iron is clearly meant. Thus in the

of perfume, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn¹ to the king of kings. This, Ânanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ânanda, should they treat the remains of the Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

12. 'The men, Ânanda, worthy of a cairn, are four in number. Which are the four?

'A Tathâgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn. One awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn². A true hearer of the Tathâgata is worthy of a cairn. A king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Tathâgata, an Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn?

'At the thought, Ananda:—"This is the cairn of that Exalted One, of that Able Awakened One," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ânanda, that a Tathâgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

popular verse at *Samyutta* I, 77 on which a *Jâtaka* is based (II, 140), which is inserted in the 'Anthologies' (*Dhammapada* 345, Khar. MS. No. 102), and twice quoted in the *Netti* (35, 153), the MSS. have both forms in spite of the metre favouring the long vowel. In this passage both *Paññânanda's* Colombo edition of 1877, and *Samarasekara's* version (Col. and Lond. 1905) have the short vowel only.

¹ *Thûpa*. A solid mound or tumulus or barrow, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul's as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later of these Buddhist monumental mounds.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is one awakened for himself alone¹ worthy of a cairn?

'At the thought, Ānanda:—"This is the cairn of that Exalted One awakened for himself alone" [143] the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that one awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a true hearer of the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn?

'At the thought, Ānanda:—"This is the cairn of that true hearer of the Exalted Able Awakened One," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a true hearer of the Exalted One the Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

'And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a king of kings worthy of a cairn?

'At the thought, Ānanda:—"This is the cairn of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

'These four, Ānanda, are the persons worthy of a cairn.'

13. 'Now the venerable Ānanda went into the Vihāra², and stood leaning against the lintel of the

¹ Pacceka-buddho. One who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

² The expression that Ānanda went 'into the Vihara' at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sāla Grove,

door, and weeping at the thought :—‘ Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection ’. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind !¹

Now the Exalted One called the brethren, and said :—‘ Where then, brethren, is Ānanda ? ’

‘ The venerable Ānanda, lord, has gone into the Vihāra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought :—“ Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind ! ” ’

And the Exalted One called a certain brother, and said :—‘ Go now, brother, and call Ānanda in my name, and say :—“ Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee ” ’ [144].

‘ Even so, lord ! ’ said that brother, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was : and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ānanda :—‘ Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee.’

‘ Very well, brother,’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Exalted One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

14. Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ānanda, as he sat there by his side :—‘ Enough, Ānanda ! Do not let yourself be troubled ; do not weep ! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things

would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connexion. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihāra here means *Mandala*. As the spot was the place for the performance of the communal ceremonies of the clan there was most likely a *Mandala* there, and there must, from the context below, § 25, have been also some small closed-in building, a hut or cottage. It is only this latter that could have been called a Vihāra.

¹ Ānanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to Nirvana.

most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ânanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies¹, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ânanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ânanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the Intoxications—[of sensuality, and individuality, and delusion, and ignorance.]²!

15. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—‘Whosoever, brethren, have been Able Awakened Ones through the long ages of the past, they also had servitors just as devoted to those Exalted Ones as Ânanda has been to me.

‘He is a clever man, brethren, is Ananda, and wise³. He knows when it is the right time for the brethren or for the sisters of the Order, for devout men [145] and devout women, for a king, or for a king’s ministers, or for other teachers or for their disciples, to come and visit the Tathâgata.

16. ‘Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda. Which are the four?

¹ A dvayena, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved.

² That is, you too shall become an Arahant, shall attain Nirvana in this life.

³ A word has here slipped out of the text, medhâvî should stand before jānâti.

' If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the Order should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

' If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the Order, . . . or of devout men, . . . or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

' Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four ?

' If, brethren, a number of nobles, or brahmins, or heads of houses, or members of a religious order should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said ; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent [146].

' Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ânanda.

' If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the Order, or of the sisters of the Order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ânanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ânanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ânanda is silent.

' Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in Ânanda.'

17. When he had thus spoken,¹ the venerable Ânanda said to the Exalted One:—

¹ From here down to the end of section 18 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the Mahâ-Sudassana Suttanta, translated below.

'Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township'. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatti, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathāgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata¹.'

'Say not so, Ānanda! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township.

18. 'Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Mahā-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city of King Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvati, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

'That royal city Kusāvati, Ānanda, was mighty and prosperous [147] and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ākamaṇḍā by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so.

¹ *Kudda-nagarake ti paṭirūpake sambādhe khuddakana-gare. Uggangāa-nagarake ti visama-nagarake* (S. V, fol. 147) *Kudda*, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for *kshudra*, and the Burmese correction into *khudda* to be unnecessary: but I venture to think it is more likely to be = *kudya*, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattle and daub. When Buddhaghosa explains *uggangala* as 'lawless,' he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

² With reference to Childers's note in his Dictionary on *mahāsālā*, with which every one must entirely agree, Buddhaghosa's explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says:—*Khattiya-mahāsālā ti khattiya-mahāsārā, sārappattā mahakhattiyā. Eso nayo sabbatha.*

Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

‘Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusāvati resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry:—“Eat, drink, and be merry!”’

19. Go now, Ānanda, and enter into Kusinārā, and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying:—“This day, O Vāsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vāsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying:—‘In our own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in his last hours.’”

‘Even so, lord,’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he robed himself and taking his bowl, entered into Kusinārā attended by another member of the order¹.

20. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the council hall on some [public] affair².

¹ Literally ‘Put on his under-garment, and taking his upper-garment and his bowl, &c.’ This sounds complicated; and why should he take his bowl? The Wanderers when at their lodging places on their travels lived (naturally in that beautiful climate) in undress—with only one robe on, the one from the waist to the feet. When they set out for the village on a visit, or on any ceremonious occasion, they put on the second robe, and (just as a European often carries his great-coat on his arm) carried the third with them. At some convenient spot near the village they would put this also on, and enter—so to speak—in full canonicals. And the bowl belonged to, formed part of, their official costume. See J. I, 55; III, 379; Sum. I, 45, 186; and the note above on Ch. IV, § 37, p. 145.

² *Kenakid eva karaṇṇiya*. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the *Assalāyana Sutta* (p. 1), prints this expression *kenakī devakaraṇṇiya*, and translates it (p. 28), ‘for some religious purpose.’ It

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinâra; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying:—'This day, O Vâsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathâgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vâsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying:—"In our own village [148] did the death of our Tathâgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathâgata in his last hours."'

21. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought:—'Too soon will the Exalted One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and their wives, being grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart, went to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

22. Then the venerable Ānanda thought:—'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinâra, one by one, to pay their respects to the Exalted One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinâra will not have been presented to the Exalted One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinâra to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Exalted One, saying:—"Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One."'

And the venerable Ānanda caused the Mallas of

seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division.

Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Exalted One, and said :— 'Lord ! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One.'

And after this manner the venerable Ānanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinārā to the Exalted One in the first watch of the night.

23. Now at that time a Wanderer named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinārā. And the Wanderer Subhadda heard the news :— 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

[149] Then thought the Wanderer Subhadda :— 'This have I heard from fellow Wanderers old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said :—"Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind ; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

24. Then the Wanderer Subhadda went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusinārā, to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ānanda :— 'Thus have I heard from fellow Wanderers, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said :—"Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind ; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of

uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ānanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda said to the Wanderer Subhadda :—' Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathāgata. The Exalted One is weary.'

And again the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]: and the third time the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]. [150]

25. Now the Exalted One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ānanda with the Wanderer Subhadda. And the Exalted One called the venerable Ānanda, and said :—' It is enough, Ānanda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ānanda, may be allowed to see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

Then the venerable Ānanda said to Subhadda, the Wanderer :—' Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Exalted One gives you leave.'

26. Then Subhadda, the Wanderer, went in to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :—' The leaders in religious life' who are heads of companies of

¹ Samana-brāhmaṇā, which compound may possibly mean Samanas and Brāhmaṇas as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were brahmins by birth, as is apparent from the Sumangala Vilāsinī on the Sāmañña-phala Suttanta, §§ 3-7. Compare the use of Kshatriya-brahmano, 'a soldier priest,' a Kshatriya who offered sacrifice; and of Brāhmaṇo, absolutely, as an epithet of an Arahant. In the use of the word samana there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots śram and śam (which, in Pāli, would both become sam). It connotes both asceticism

disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit, Pûraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkâyana of the Pakudha tree, Saṅgaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Nâtha clan [151]—have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not?’

‘Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Subhadda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the Wanderer Subhadda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

27. And the Exalted One spake:—‘In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first, or of the second, or of the third, or of the fourth degree. And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan eightfold path is found, in it is found the man of true saintliness of the first, and the second, and the third, and the fourth degree¹. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the Aryan eightfold path, and in it

and inward peace, and might best be rendered ‘devotee,’ were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A Samāṇa-brahmin should therefore mean a man of any birth, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi-brahmin and was looked up to by the people with as much respect as they looked up to a brahmin by birth. Compare further my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ vol. I, p. 260; and see J. I, 57, 187; M. I. 285–6, 400; II, 54; A. I, 180; III, 228.

¹ On these degrees in the religious life, see M. I, 63; A. II, 238. They are described in my ‘Buddhism’ (21st ed., pp. 108 foll.).

too, are found, Subhadda, the men of true saintliness of all the four degrees. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahants¹.

'But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after Good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realm of System and of Law—
Outside of that no victory can be won!²

'Yea, not of the first, [152] nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of Arahants.'

¹ Arahants are those who have reached Nirvana, the 'supreme goal, the highest fruit' of the Aryan Eightfold Path. To live 'the Life that's Right' (sammâ) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be sammâ, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (sammâ) is therefore to have:—(1) Right views, free from superstition; (2) right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man; (3) right speech, kindly, open, truthful; (4) right conduct, in all concerns of life; (5) right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing; (6) right perseverance, in all the other seven; (7) right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind; (8) right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is sammâ, and the whole paragraph being on the Aryan Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

Buddhaghosa says that bhikkhu sammâ viharati, who, having himself entered the Aryan Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on 'bereft,' and too little on 'Arahants.'

² Literally 'There is no samana.' See note on § 26. I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers's punctuation. Buddhaghosa refers padesa-vatti to samano; and ito, not to padesa, but to magga, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On samâdhikâni see the comment at Jâtaka II, 383: Watters, 'On Yüan Chwâng,' II, 33, and Ed. Hardy, 'Buddhismus,' p. 44. Both Paññānanda and Samarasekhara render it as above.

28. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :—‘ Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the Order. I would fain be accepted as a probationer under the Exalted One, as a full member in his Order.’

29. ‘ Whosoever, Subhadda, has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and thereafter desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.’

‘ If, lord, whosoever has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order ! ’

But the Exalted One called the venerable Ânanda, and said :—‘ As it is, Ânanda, receive Subhadda into the Order ! ’

‘ Even so, lord ! ’ said the venerable Ânanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

30. And Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the venerable Ānanda :—“Great is your gain, friend Ānanda, great is your good fortune, friend Ānanda, in that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!”

[153] So Subhadda, the Wanderer, was received into the higher grade of the Order under the Exalted One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And ere long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life¹, for the sake of which the clansmen go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahants; and he was the last disciple whom the Exalted One himself converted².

End of the Hiraññavatiya portion, being the
Fifth Portion for Recitation.

¹ That is, Nirvana. Compare Mangala Sutta 10, 11, and the Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above, Chap. I, § 7.

² Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note :—“The Thera (that is, Ānanda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (see my “Buddhist Birth Stories,” p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the “Three Refuges,” and led him back to the Exalted One. The Exalted One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to

him a subject for meditation (*kamma//hāna*). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahantship, and with it the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (*Paṭisambhidā*). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Exalted One.'

According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (*Saṅghakamma*), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI.

1. [154] Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—‘ It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, “ The word of the master is ended, we have no teacher more ! ” But it is not thus, Ananda, that you should regard it. The Truths, and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you ’

2. ‘ Ānanda ’ when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet that is, of “ Āvuso ” (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title “ Friend.” But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as “ Sir ” or as “ Venerable Sir ¹. ”

3. ‘ When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts ². ’

4. ‘ When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Channa. ’

‘ But what, lord, is the higher penalty ? ’

‘ Let Channa say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the

¹ Bhante or āyasmā. This question has been fully discussed by Prof. Franke in the ‘ Journal of the Pāli Text Society,’ 1908.

² According to tradition (trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, ‘ Vinaya Texts,’ III, 377 foll.) the Order considered this matter shortly after the Buddha’s death, and declined to avail themselves of this permission. As to what these lesser precepts were see Rhys Davids, ‘ Questions of King Milinda,’ I, 202 foll.

brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him¹.'

5. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—' It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method². Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves [155] afterwards with the thought :—" Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him." '

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

And again the second and the third time the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—' It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought :—" Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him." '

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—' It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted

¹ This brother is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper *esprit de corps* that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble; his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the 'supreme goal' of the Buddhist faith. (The passages are shown in the index to 'Vinaya Texts.')

² Comp. D. II, 287.

One :—' How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous ! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method !'

' It is out of the fullness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ānanda ! But, Ānanda, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method ' For even the most backward, Ānanda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the Enlightenment [of Arahantship] ¹.

7. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—[156] ' Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying :—" Decay is inherent in all component things ! Work out your salvation with diligence !"'

This was the last word of the Tathāgata !

8. Then the Exalted One entered into the first stage of Rapture ². And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of Rapture, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present ³. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the

¹ Compare above, Chap. II, § 7. By 'the most backward' according to Buddhaghosa, the Exalted One referred to Ānanda, and he said this to encourage him.

² The full text and an explanation of this Rapture will be found in the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 174-6.

³ Compare above, Chap. III, § 33, p. 119.

infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away¹.

Then the venerable Ānanda said to the venerable Anuruddha :— ' O my lord, O Anuruddha, the Exalted One is dead ! '

' Nay ! brother Ānanda, the Exalted One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be ! '

9. Then the Exalted One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of Rapture he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the

¹ These nine states are called in the *Nilinda*, p. 176, the nine *Anupubba-Vihāras*. We have therefore, in this list, a technical, scholastic, attempt to describe the series of ideas involved in what was considered the highest thought. No one, of course, can have known what actually did occur ; and the eight boundary lines between the nine states are purely conjectural.

third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the last stage of Rapture he immediately expired.

10. When the Exalted One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth [157].

When the Exalted One died, Brahmā Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
 Aside their complex form—that aggregation
 Of mental and material qualities,
 That gives them, or in heaven or on earth
 Their fleeting individuality¹
 E'en as the teacher—being such a one,
 Unequalled among all the men that are,
 Successor of the prophets of old time,
 Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear—
 Hath died !'

When the Exalted One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

' They're transient all, each being's parts and powers,
 Growth is their very nature, and decay.

¹ Brahmā, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the 'aggregations' (khandha) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhūto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the 'locality' in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 12, 26.) Brahmā appears therefore as a veritable Doctor in theology, and I have been obliged to expand the translation to bring out all the meaning in the text.

They are produced, they are dissolved again :
To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss¹.

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :—

'When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvana's tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart !

All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
The last emancipation of his heart.'

¹ On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Mahā-Sudassana-Suttanta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

'Whatever exists is without endurance,
And hence the terms 'flourishing' and 'decaying.'
A man is born, and then he dies.
Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition !'

The very meaning which is here the most essential connotation of saṅkhāra is lost in the phrase 'whatever exists.' By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means 'term,' the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the 'Indian Antiquary' for May, 1880, the following verses occur ; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza :—

'All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear ;
Though joined together, there must be separation ;
Where there is life there must be death.'

Compare the constantly repeated phrase :—' Whatsoever hath an origin in that is inherent the necessity of dissolution.' The perception of this is emphatically called the Eye for the Truth ; and the doctrine is referred to in the next section.

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

‘Then was there terror!
Then stood the hair on end!
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died!’¹

² When the Exalted One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought :—[158] ‘Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief collected and composed at the thought :—‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?’

11. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said :—‘Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such

¹ In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahant; and the loving, childlike disciple.

² Nearly = V, § 6; and below, VI, 19.

condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us¹.

'But of what kind of spirits, Sir, is the venerable Anuruddha thinking?'

'There are spirits, brother Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:—"Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"'

'There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the

¹ *Ugghāyanti*. I have followed the reading of my own MS., which is confirmed by the *Sumangala Vilāsinī* and the *Mālālaṅkara-vatthu*. *Vigghāyanti*, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute statement:—"Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct." It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (*devatā*), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (*vigghāyanti*); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a 'soul' from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a *devatā*, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exceedingly rare case of an *anāgāmin*, of which an instance will be found above Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

The expression 'of worldly mind,' here and above in V, 6, is in Pāli *paṭhavi-saṅginiyo*, an ambiguous phrase which has only as yet been found in this connexion. The word is here opposed to *vītarāga*, 'free from passion,' and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is another possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, 'making the idea of earth present to their mind'; and this would be in accordance with the use of *saṅgī* in the *Kasīna* meditations, in which spirits, like men, were supposed to indulge; see *Dīgha* II, 108. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a *Kasīna* phrase as *marāṇa-saṅgīno*, used at *Mahāvamsa* V, 159, of good men.

ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought :—
 "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has
 the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the
 Light gone out in the world!"

'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it,
 calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which
 begins :—"Impermanent indeed are all component
 things. How then is it possible [. . . that such a being
 should not be dissolved]?"'

12. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable
 Ānanda spent the rest of that night in religious dis-
 course. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the
 venerable Ānanda :—"Go now, brother Ānanda, into
 Kusinârâ and inform the Mallas of Kusinârâ, saying :—
 "The Exalted One, O Vâsetthas, is dead; do, then,
 whatever seemeth to you fit!"'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in
 assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having
 robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl,
 and went into Kusinârâ with one of the brethren as
 an attendant [159].

Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinârâ were
 assembled in the council hall concerning that very
 matter.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall
 of the Mallas of Kusinârâ; and when he had arrived
 there, he informed them, saying :—"The Blessed One,
 O Vâsetthas, is dead; do, then, whatever seemeth to
 you fit!"

And when they had heard this saying of the vener-
 able Ānanda, the Mallas, with their young men and
 their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad,
 and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept,
 dishevelled their hair, and some stretched forth their
 arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground,
 and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought :—

Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has

¹ See the end of the first paragraph of this section.

the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

13. Then the Mallas of Kusinâra gave orders to their attendants, saying :—'Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinâra!'

And the Mallas of Kusinâra took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sâla Grove of the Mallas, where the body of the Exalted One lay. There they passed the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon¹.

Then the Mallas of Kusinâra thought :—

'It is much too late to burn the body of the Exalted One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.' And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they passed the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

14. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinâra [100] thought :—

¹ The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together: to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides. Every civil servant travelling on duty in remote districts in Ceylon has such a tent or canopy put up for him by the peasantry.

'Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!'

And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

Then the Mallas of Kusinâra said to the venerable Anuruddha:—'What, lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause, that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One, are unable to lift it up?'

'It is because you, O *Vâsetthas*, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

15. 'But what, lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'Your purpose, O *Vâsetthas*, is this:—Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, *Vâsetthas*, is this:—Let us carry the body of the Exalted One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,—paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,—let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called *Makula-bandhana*, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, lord, let it be.'

16. Then immediately all Kusinārā down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with Mandārava flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinārā upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One, with dance, and song, and music, [101] with garlands, and with perfumes, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called Maku/a-bandhana; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Exalted One¹.

17². Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Ānanda :—‘What should be done, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata?’

‘As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vāsetthas, should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.’

‘And how, lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?’

‘They wrap the body of a king of kings, Vāsetthas, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes,

¹ The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village. Authorities differ as to the direction in which it should be taken to avoid this. The old custom, according to Caland (p. 23) was to take it to the East or the West. Later priestly books (Manu, for instance, V, 92) say to the North. The Mallas wanted to go to the South. The remedy proposed by the spirits who are shocked at this impropriety, is more shocking still.

² Compare Chap. V, §§ 11, 12.

and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn to the king of kings. This, *Vâsetthas*, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

‘And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, *Vâsetthas*, should they treat the remains of the Tathâgata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathâgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

18. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying :—‘Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!’

Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ wrapped the body of the Exalted One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in carded cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth, [162]—and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Exalted One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Exalted One.

19. Now at that time the venerable Mahâ Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusinârâ with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

Just at that time a certain naked ascetic¹ who had picked up a Mandârava flower in Kusinârâ was coming along the high road to Pāvā.

Now the venerable Mahâ Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance ; and when he had seen him he said to that naked ascetic :—

¹ An Ājīvaka. See the note above at Vol. I, p. 71.

‘O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?’

‘Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower.’

On that of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought:—‘Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief self-possessed and composed at the thought:—‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?’

20. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the Order in his old age, was seated in that company¹.

And Subhadda the recruit in his old age said to those brethren:—‘Enough, sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told:—“This beseems you, this beseems you not.” But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!’

But the venerable Mahā Kassapa exhorted the brethren:—‘Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! [163] Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves

¹ At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Vinaya, Prof. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above at the end of Chap. V. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a brahmin, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Aññā Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Ātuma.

from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!’

21. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

Then the Mallas of Kusinâra said to the venerable Anuruddha:—‘What, lord, can be the reason, and what the cause [of this]?’

‘The purpose of the spirits, O Vâsetthas, is different.’

‘But what, sir, is the purpose of the spirits?’

‘The purpose of the spirits, O Vâsetthas, is this:—That venerable brother Mahâ Kassapa is now journeying along the way from Pâvâ to Kusinâra with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred brethren. The funeral pyre of the Exalted One shall not catch fire until the venerable Mahâ Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the feet of the Exalted One.’

‘Even according to the purpose of the spirits so, sir, let it be!’

22. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa went on to Makula-bandhana of Kusinâra, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pyre of the Exalted One was. And when he had come up to it he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and after bowing down with clasped hands, he thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One.

And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped

hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One [184].

And when the homage of the venerable Mahā Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pyre of the Exalted One caught fire of itself¹.

23. Now as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. Just as one sees no soot or ash when ghee or oil is burned; so, as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

And when the body of the Exalted One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters [beneath the earth], and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. The Mallas of Kusinārā also brought water scented

¹ It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms:— 'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world' ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 348).

The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the Siyam-samāgama) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus in Burma and those in Ceylon, who belong to the Amara-pura-samāgama, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.

with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One¹.

Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ surrounded the bones of the Exalted One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to them with dance, and song, and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

24. Now the king of Magadha, Ajâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the king of Magadha, Ajâtasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying,—‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so am I. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!’

And the Licchavis of Vesâli heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Licchavis of Vesâli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:—‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we [105]. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the Sâkiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ. And the

¹ There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The ‘storehouse of the waters’ is in Pâli *udaka-sâlâ*, on which Buddha-ghosa has two theories: first, that the Sâlâ trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that *sâlâ* can here have anything to do with Sâlâ trees; but the other interpretation is open to the objections that *sâlâ* means an open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a ‘storehouse of water’ has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.

Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :—' The Exalted One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast !'

And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :—' The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast !'

And the Koliyas of Râmagâma heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ. And the Koliyas of Râmagâma sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :—' The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast !'

And the brahmin of Vethadipa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ. And the brahmin of Vethadipa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :—' The Exalted One was a Kshatriya, and I am a brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast !'

And the Mallas of Pāvâ heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Mallas of Pāvâ sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :—' The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast !'

25. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinârâ spoke to the assembled crowds, saying:—
[166] 'The Exalted One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Exalted One!'

When they had thus spoken, Dona the brahmin addressed the assembled crowds, and said:—

'Hear, gracious sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
Unseemly is it that over the division
Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
Strife should arise, and wounds, and war'
Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
Wide spread let cairns spring up in every land
That in the Light of the world mankind may trust!'

'Do thou then, O brahmin, thyself divide the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division¹.'

'Be it so, sirs!' said Dona the brahmin, in assent, to the assembled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them:—'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to Dona the brahmin.

26. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinârâ.

Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:—'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying:—'There is

¹ Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.

no portion of the remains of the Exalted One left over. The remains of the Exalted One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

27. So the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a cairn in Rājagaha over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast [187].

And the Licchavis of Vesālī made a cairn in Vesālī over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu made a cairn in Kapila-vatthu over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Bulis of Allakappa made a cairn in Allakappa over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Koliyas of Rāmagāma made a cairn in Rāmagāma over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And *Vetḥadīpa* the brahmin made a cairn in *Vetḥadīpa* over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Pāvā made a cairn in Pāvā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinārā made a cairn in Kusinārā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And *Dona* the brahmin made a cairn over the vessel [in which the remains had been collected] and celebrated a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pīpphalivana made a cairn over the embers, and celebrated a feast.

Thus were there eight cairns (Thupas) for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be¹.

¹ Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by

[28. Eight measures of relics there were of him of
the far-seeing eye,
(Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are
worshipped,
And one measure in Râmagâma, by the kings of the
serpent race.
One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in
Gandhâra's city,
One in the Kâlinga realm, and one more by the
Nâga race.
Through their glory the bountiful earth is made
bright with offerings painless—
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best
honoured by those who are honoured,
By gods and by Nâgas and kings, yea, thus by the
noblest of humans—
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through
hundreds of ages!]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

Theras in Ceylon. The additional verse found in the Phayre MS.
was in the same way probably added in Burma.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHĀ-SUDASSANA-SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is an expansion of the conversation recorded in the Book of the Great Decease (above, Ch. V, § 17).

The same legend recurs as the Mahā-Sudassana Jātaka, No. 95 in Mr. Fausboll's edition. As the latter differs in several important particulars from our Suttanta, it is probably not taken directly from it, but is merely derived from the same source. To facilitate comparison between the two I add here a translation of the Jātaka.

The part enclosed in square brackets [] is the so-called Story of the Present: and the whole was probably written in Ceylon in the fifth century of our era. There is every reason to believe, for the reasons given in my 'Buddhist India' (pp. 201-7), that the stories themselves belong to a very early period in the history of Buddhism and are, many of them, older even than Buddhism. We may be sure that if this particular story had been abstracted by the author of the commentary from our Suttanta, he would not have ventured to introduce such serious changes into what he regarded as sacred writ.

MAHĀ-SUDASSANA JĀTAKA.

['How transient are all component things.' This the Master told when lying on his death-couch, concerning that word of Ānanda the Thera, when he said:—'Do not, O Exalted One, die in this little town,' and so on.

When the Tathāgata was at the Jetavana¹ he thought:—

¹ It is not easy with our present materials to reconcile the apparently conflicting statements with regard to the Buddha's last journey. According to the Mālālakāra-vatthu this refers here to a residence at the Jetavana, which took place between the end of § 23 in Chap. II in the Book of the Great Decease, and the beginning of § 24.

Mr. Fausboll, by his punctuation, includes these words in the following thought ascribed to the Exalted One, but I think they only describe the time at which the thought is supposed to have arisen.

'The Thera Sâriputta, who was born at Nālagāma, has died, on the day of the full moon in the month of Kattika, in the chamber in which he had been born¹; and Mahā-Moggallāna in the latter, the dark half of that same month. As my two chief disciples are thus dead, I too will pass away at Kusinārā.' Thereupon he proceeded straight on to that place, and lay down on the Uttarasisaka couch, between the twin Sāla trees, never to rise again.

Then the venerable Ānanda besought him, saying:—'Let not the Exalted One die in this little township, in this little town in the jungle, in this branch township. Let the Exalted One die in one of the other great cities, such as Rājagaha, and the rest!'

But the Master answered:—'Say not, Ānanda, that this is a little township, a little town in the jungle, a branch township. I was dwelling formerly in this town at the time when I was Sudassana, the king of kings; and then it was a great city, surrounded by a jewelled rampart, twelve leagues in length!'

And at the request of the Thera, he, telling the tale, uttered the Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta².]

Now on that occasion when Queen Subhaddā saw Mahā-Sudassana when he had come down out of the Palace of Righteousness, and was lying down, not far off, on the appropriate couch, spread out in the grove of the seven kinds of gems, and when she said:—'Thine, O king, are these four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief is the royal city of Kusāvati. Set thy heart on these';—

Then replied Mahā-Sudassana: 'Speak not thus, O queen! but exhort me rather, saying:—"Cast away desire for these, long not after them".'

¹ The text reads 'at Varaka.' But this is a mistake. The word which has puzzled Mr. Fausböll is ovaraka. The modern name of the village, afterwards the site of the famous Buddhist university of Nālandā, is Baragaon. The full-moon day in Kattika is the first of December. An account of the death of Sâriputta will be found in the Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu (Bigandet, 'Legend,' &c., 3rd ed., II, 1-25), and of the murder of Moggallāna by the Nigan/has in the Dhammapada commentary (Fausböll, p. 298 seq.), of which Spence Hardy's account ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 338) is nearly a translation; and Bigandet's account (loc. cit., pp. 25-7) is an abridgement.

² In the earliest description of this conversation (above, 'Book of the Great Decease,' V, 17) there is no mention of this. But it is inserted most incongruously in the present Suttanta.

³ Both these speeches are different from those given on the same occasion in the Suttanta below.

And when she asked :—‘Why so, O king?’ ‘To-day my time is come, and I shall die!’ was his reply¹.

Then the weeping queen, wiping her eyes, brought herself with difficulty and distress to address him accordingly. And having spoken, she wept, and lamented; and the other four and eighty thousand women wept too, and lamented; and of the attendant courtiers not one could restrain himself, but all also wept.

But the Bodisat stopped them all, saying :—‘Enough, my friends! Be still!’ And he exhorted the queen, saying :—‘Neither do thou, O queen, weep: neither do thou lament. For down even unto a grain of sesamum fruit there is no such thing as a compound which is permanent! All are transient, all have the inherent quality of dissolution!’

And when he had so said, he further uttered this stanza :—

‘How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay:
They are produced, they are dissolved again:
To bring them into full subjection, that is bliss².’

[In these verses the words ‘How transient are all component things!’ mean ‘Dear lady Subhaddā, wheresoever and by whatsoever causes made or come together, compounds³,—that is, all those things which possess the essential constituents [whether material or mental] of existing things⁴,—all these compounds are impermanence itself. For of these form⁵ is impermanent, reason⁶ is impermanent, the [mental] eye⁷ is impermanent, and qualities⁸ are impermanent. And whatever treasure there be, whether conscious or unconscious, that is transitory. Understand therefore “How transient are all component things!”

‘And why? “Growth is their nature and decay.” These, all, have the inherent quality of coming into [individual] existence, and have also the inherent quality of growing old; or [in other words] their very nature is to come into existence and to be broken up. Therefore should it be understood that they are impermanent.

‘And since they are impermanent, when “they are produced, they are dissolved again.” Having come into existence,

¹ This question and answer are not in the Suttanta.

² All this is omitted in the Suttanta. It is true the verse occurs there, but it is placed in the mouth of the Teacher, after the account of Mahā-Sudassana’s death.

³ Sankhārā.

⁴ Khandāyatanādayo.

⁵ Rūpam.

⁶ Viññānam.

⁷ Cakkhum.

⁸ Dhammā.

having reached a state¹, they are surely dissolved. For all these things come into existence, taking an individual form; and are dissolved, being broken up. To them as soon as there is birth, there is what is called a state; as soon as there is a state, there is what is called disintegration². For to the unborn there is no such thing as state, and there is no such thing as a state which is without disintegration. Thus are all compounds, having attained to the three characteristic marks [of impermanency, pain, and want of any abiding principle], subject, in this way and in that way, to dissolution. All these component things therefore, without exception, are impermanent, momentary, despicable, unstable, disintegrating, trembling, quaking, unlasting, sure to depart³, only for a time⁴, and without substance; as temporary as a phantom, as the mirage, or as foam!

'How then in these, dear lady Subhaddā, can you feel any sign of satisfaction? Understand rather than "to bring them into subjection, that is bliss." For to bring them into subjection, since it involves mastery over the whole circle of transmigration, is the same as Nirvana. That and this are one⁵. And there is no other bliss than that.'

And when Mahā-Sudassana had thus brought his discourse to a point with the ambrosial great Nirvana, and had made exhortation also to the rest of the great multitude, saying:— 'Give gifts! Observe the precepts! Keep the sacred days⁶!' he became an inheritor of the world of the gods.

[When the Master had concluded this lesson in the truth, he summed up the Jātaka, saying:— 'She who was then Subhaddā the queen was the mother of Rāhula, the great adviser was Rāhula, the rest of the retinue the Buddha's retinue, and Mahā-Sudassana I myself.']

The word translated 'component things' or 'compounds' is *saṅkhārā*, literally confections, from *kar*, 'to make,' and *saṃ*, 'together.' It is a word very frequently used in Buddhist writings, and a word consequently of many different connotations; and there is, of course, no exactly corresponding word

¹ Thiti.

² Bhango.

³ *Pāyâtā*, literally 'departed.' The forms *payāti* and *payāto*, given by Childers, should be corrected into *pāyāti* and *pāyāto*.

⁴ *Tāvakālīka*. See Jātaka I, 121, where the word is used of a cart let out on hire for a time only.

⁵ *Tad ev ekam ekam*, which is not altogether without ambiguity.

⁶ This paragraph, too, is omitted in the Suttanta.

in English. 'Production' would often be very nearly correct, although it fails entirely to give the force of the preposition *saṃ*; but a greater objection to that word is the fact that it is generally used, not of things that have come into being of themselves, but of things that have been produced by some one else. It suggests, if it does not imply, a producer; which is contrary to the whole spirit of the Buddhist passages in which the word *saṅkhārā* occurs. In this important respect the word 'compound' is a much more accurate translation, though it lays somewhat too much stress on the *saṃ*.

The term Confections (to coin a rendering) is sometimes used to denote all things which have been brought together, made up, by pre-existing causes; phenomena in general. In this sense it includes, as the commentator here points out, all those material or mental qualities which unite to form an individual, a separate thing or being, whether conscious or unconscious.

It is more usually used, (with special reference to their origin from pre-existing causes, and with allusion to the wider meanings just above explained), of the mental confections only, the mental constituents, of all sentient beings generally, or of man alone. In this sense it forms by itself one of the five classes or aggregates (*khandha*) into which the material and mental qualities of each separate individual are divided in Buddhist writings—the class of dispositions, capabilities, and all that goes together to make what we call character. This class has naturally enough been again divided and subdivided; and a full list of the Confections in this sense, as now acknowledged by orthodox Buddhists, will be found in my manual 'Buddhism' (pp. 91, 92). At the time when the Five *Nikāyas* reached their present form, no such elaborate list of Confections in detail seems to have been made; but the general sense of the word was, as is quite clear from the passages in which it occurs, the idea which these details together convey. It is this second and more usual meaning of the term which is more especially emphasized in the concluding verse of the above stanza.

Turning now to the *Suttanta* itself, we find that the portion of the legend omitted in the *Jātaka* throws an unexpected light upon the tale; for it commences with a long description of the riches and glory of *Mahā-Sudassana*, and reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more nor less than a spiritualized sun-myth.

It cannot be disputed that the sun-myth theory has become greatly discredited, and with reason, by having been used too

carelessly and freely as an explanation of religious legends of different times and countries which have really no historical connexion with the earlier awe and reverence inspired by the sun. The very mention of the word sun-myth is apt to call forth a smile of incredulity, and the indubitable truth which is the basis of the theory has not sufficed to protect it from the shafts of ridicule. The 'Book of the Great King of Glory' seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied.

It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on a sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun, or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic. A large proportion of its contents has nothing at all to do with the worship of the sun; and even that which has, had not, in the mind of the author, when the book was put together. Whether indebted to a sun-myth or not, it is therefore perfectly true and valid evidence of the religious belief of the people among whom it was current; and no more shows that the Buddhists were unconscious sun-worshippers than the story of Samson, under any theory of its possible origin, would prove the same of the Jews.

What we really have is a kind of wonderful fairy tale, a gorgeous poem, in which an attempt is made to describe in set terms the greatest possible glory and majesty of the greatest possible king, in order to show that all is vanity, save only righteousness—just such a poem as a Jewish prophet might have written of Solomon in all his glory. It would have been most strange, perhaps impossible, for the author to refrain from using the language of the only poets he knew, who had used their boldly figurative language in an attempt to describe the appearance of the sun.

To trace back all the rhetorical phrases of our Sutta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns would be an interesting task of historical philology, though it would throw more light upon Buddhist forms of speech than upon Buddhist forms of belief. In M. Senart's valuable work, '*La Légende du Bouddha*,' he has already done this with regard to the seven treasures (mentioned in the early part of the Suttanta) on the basis of the corresponding passage in the later Buddhist Sanskrit poem called the *Lalita Vistara*. The description of the royal city and of its wondrous Palace of Righteousness has been probably originated by the author, though on the same lines; and it reminds one irresistibly, in many of its expressions, of the similar, but simpler and more beautiful

poem in which a Jewish author, some three or four centuries afterwards, described the heavenly Jerusalem.

When the Northern Buddhists, long afterwards, had smothered the simple teaching of the founder of their religion under the subtleties of theological and metaphysical speculation, and had forgotten all about the Aryan Path, their goal was no longer a change of heart in the Arahantship to be reached on earth, but a life of happiness, under a change of outward condition, in a heaven of bliss beyond the skies. . One of the most popular books among the Buddhists of China and Japan is a description of this heavenly paradise of theirs, called the Sukhavâti-vyûha, the 'Book of the Happy Country.' It is instructive to find that several of the expressions used are word for word the same as the corresponding phrases in our much older 'Book of the Great King of Glory.'

Incidentally the details given in this Suttanta enable us to judge as to what was considered, at the time when it was put together, to be the greatest possible luxury and glory of the mightiest and most righteous king. In spite of the exuberance of some of the language used, the luxury is after all curiously simple, and mostly of an out-of-door kind. A summary of the conclusions which can be drawn from the sacred books of the Buddhists as to the social and economic condition of the Ganges valley, at the time when those books were composed, will be found in my 'Buddhist India,' ch. IV-VI. The very simple character of the luxury here depicted is in accordance with the evidence there given.

[XVII. MAHĀ-SUDASSANA-SUTTANTA.]

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY¹.

CHAPTER I.]

1. [100] Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Kusinârâ in the Upavattana, the Sâla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sâla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Now the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One —

‘Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champâ, Râjagaha, Sâvatthi, Sâketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathâgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata.’

3. ‘Say not so, Ānanda ! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Mahâ-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya², Lord of the four quarters

¹ Sudassana means ‘beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,’ and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

² Khattiyo muddhâvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahâ-parinibbâna, the Mahâpadâna, and the Lakkhaṇa Suttantas, and other places where this stock description of a king of kings is found. It is omitted also in the Lalita Vistara. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the

of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. [170] This Kusinârâ, Ānanda, was the royal city of king Mahâ-Sudassana, under the name of Kusâvatî, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusâvatî, Ānanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Āvakamandâ by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ānanda, was the royal city Kusâvatî mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusâvatî resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry:—"Eat, drink, and be merry!"

4. 'The royal city Kusâvatî, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems!

5. 'To the royal city Kusâvatî, Ānanda, there were Gates of four colours. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. [171] At each gate seven pillars were fixed; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

India Office reads here muddâbhisitto, but this is an unnecessary correction. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 7 below.

¹ This enumeration is found also at Jâtaka I, 3, only that the *chank* is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.

6. 'The royal city Kusāvati, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

'And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

'And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the five kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—[172] just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to

¹ This section should be compared with one in the *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1880, p. 170):—

'And again, O Śāriputra, when those rows of palm trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Śāriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand kotis of sounds, when played by Aryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

'And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.'

Compare also below, § 32, and Jātaka I, 32.

drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.'

7. 'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.

'What are those seven ?

1. 'In the first place, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day², on the day of the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel,³ with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought :—

"This saying have I heard, 'When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day ; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete—that king becomes a king of kings invincible.' May I, then, become a king of kings invincible⁴."

8. 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said :—

"Roll onward, O my lord, the Wheel ! O my lord, go forth and overcome !"

'Then the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, rolled onwards

¹ The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pāli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the *Lalitā Vistara* (Calcutta edition, pp. 14-19).

² *Upasatha*, a weekly sacred day ; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. § 12.

³ This is the disk of the sun.

⁴ A king of the rolling wheel.

towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. [173] And in whatever place, Ānanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

9. 'Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said:—

"Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

Thus spake the Great King of Glory:—"Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink no maddening drink. Ye shall eat as ye have eaten¹."

'Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

10. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had happened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

11. [174] 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer over the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusāvati and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as

¹ *Yathābhuttam bhuñjatha*. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Āmagandha Sutta (translated in my 'Buddhism,' p. 131).

a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

12. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure¹, all white, seven-fold firm², wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Elephant-King, whose name was "The Changes of the Moon"³.'

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

"Auspicious were it to ride upon the Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!"

'Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Elephant—like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

'And long ago, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, had mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvati⁴.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

13. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure⁵, all white

¹ Hatthi-ratana.

² Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm', the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

³ Uposatho. In the Lalita Vistara its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes—first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was, therefore, a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.'

⁴ Compare on this and § 29 my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.

⁵ Assa-ratanam.

with a crow-black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Charger-King, whose name was “Thunder-cloud”¹.

‘When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

“Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled!”

[175] ‘Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Horse—like a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

‘When long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kūsāvatī.

‘Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

14. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure². That Gem was the Veṭuriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

‘The splendour, Ānanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

‘When, long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

‘And then too, Ānanda, all the dwellers in the villages round about, set about their daily work, thinking:—“The daylight hath appeared.”

¹ Valāhako. Compare the Valāhassa-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 196), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332–40 of his ‘Romantic History,’ &c., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valāhakā Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya the spirits of the skies are divided into Unha-valāhakā Devā, Sīta-valāhakā Devā, Abbha-valāhakā Devā, Vāta-valāhakā Devā, and Vassa-valāhakā Devā, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.

² Maṇi-ratanam

‘Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.’

15. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure¹, graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion; neither very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim; neither very dark, nor very fair; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods².

‘The touch too, Ānanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool; in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

‘That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, [176] and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

‘That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory—how much less then could she be so with the body!

‘Such, Ānanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.’

16. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer³, possessed,

¹ *Itthi-ratanam*.

² The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

³ *Gahapati-ratanam*. The word *gahapati* has been hitherto usually rendered ‘householder,’ but this may often, and would certainly here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The *gahapati* was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias*. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the *Rig-veda* the *grihapati*, the *pater familias*, of the human race. It is often

through good deeds done in a former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

"Do thou, O King, take thine ease! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with."

'Long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward:—

"I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold!"

"Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks."

"It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold."

'Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory:—

"Is that enough, O Great King? Have I done enough, O Great King?"

'And the Great King of Glory replied:—

"It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer!" [177]

'Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ānanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

used in opposition to *brāhmaṇa* very much as we used 'yeoman' in opposition to 'clerk' (*Jātaka* I, 83); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (*Jātaka* I, 218). The compound *brāhmaṇa-gahapatika* as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to 'priests and laymen' (see, for instance, below, § 21, and *Vinaya* I, 35, 36). Then again the *gahapati* is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (*Sāmañña Phala Suttanta* 133, = *Tevijja Suttanta* I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasized in the text. Buddhaghosa uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words *setthi-gahapati*.

17. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser¹, learned, clever, and wise; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

'He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

"Do thou, O King, take thine ease! I will be thy guide."

'Such, Ānanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

'The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

18. 'Now, further, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts².

'What are the Four Marvellous Gifts?

'In the first place, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

19. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

20. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men³.

¹ *Parināyaka-ratanam*. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king. The *Lalita Vistara* makes him a general.

² The Four *Iddhis*. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four *Iddhis*. See the passages quoted above, Vol. I, pp. 272 foll. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (*iddhi*) of the King of kings.

³ The same thing is said of *Raṭṭhapāla* in the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*, where Gogerly renders the whole passage:—'Raṭṭhapāla is healthy, free from pain, having a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

21. [178] 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. Just, Ānanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ānanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. And just, Ānanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ānanda, were priests and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

'Once, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ānanda, the priests and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

"O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time!"

'But the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, addressed his charioteer, and said :—

"Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people [priests and laymen] for a longer time!"

'This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

'These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.'

22. 'Now to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :—

no excess of either heat or cold' ('Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society,' 1847-8, p. 98). The *gahani* is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. Moggallāna explains it, *udare tu tathā pācanalasmim gahani* (Abhidhāna-ppadipikā 972), where Subhūti's Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pākāgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' Buddhaghosa explains *samavipākīyā kammāga-tejo-dhātuyā*, and adds :—'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the *samavepākini gahani*, but he who has appetite (*bhattachando*) when the time for food comes round again, he has the *samavepākini gahani*,'—which is delightfully naïve.

“Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow-lengths.”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow-lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

‘And those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

‘And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. [179] The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

‘And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ānanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold¹.

¹ Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water-plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurâdhapura in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure-head, and railings are in Pāli *thambha*, *sūciyo*, *unhisa*, and *vedikā*, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description of the Lotus-lakes in *Sukhāvatī*. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called *sūciyo* in the inscriptions at Bharahat (‘The Stupa of Bharhut,’ p. 127). Buddhaghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds—to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two *vedikās* one was at the limit of the tiles and one at the limit of the *pariveṇa*. See below § 31; and Rhys Davids, ‘Buddhist India,’ Figures 6, 7; pp. 74-6.

23. 'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :—

"Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for all the people to have garlands to put on¹—to wit, blue water-lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water-lilies."

[And the king had such flowers planted there accordingly.]

'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :—

"Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time."

[And the king had such bathing-men placed there accordingly.]

'Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :—

"Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want."

[180] 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.'

24. 'Now, Ānanda, the people [priests and laymen] went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said :—

"This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought

¹ Literally 'have garlands planted for all the people to put on'—an elliptical expression revealing the ideas of that early time as to the only possible use of flowers. I think the reading should be *anavaram*.

here for the use of the King of kings. Let the King accept it of us !”

“I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you !”

‘When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying :—

“It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory.”

‘Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

“A mansion would we build for thee, O King !”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.’

25. ‘Now, Ānanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god, and said :—

“Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’.”

“Even so, lord !” said Vissakamma, in assent, Ānanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. [181] And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

‘Then, Ānanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory :—

“I would create for thee, O King, a mansion—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’ !”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

‘So Vissakamma the god, Ānanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion—a palace to be called “Righteousness”.’

26. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

'The ground-floor, Ânanda, of the Palace of Righteousness, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'The Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold. [182] The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ânanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

'At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm

tree of crystal ; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

'At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl ; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.'

27. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :—

"Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex¹, under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

28. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was surrounded by a double railing. [183] One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure-head of gold.

29. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

'And when those networks of bells, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda, when those networks of

¹ Mahāvvyūhassa kū/āgārassa dvāre. The 'Great Complex' contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: (1) To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun God regarded as a unity of the deities; and (2) To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.

bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.'

30. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ānanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes—[184] just so, Ānanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.'

31. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :—

"Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of 'Righteousness'."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness".

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of

crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

32. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. [185] And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

'And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whosoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusavati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.'

33. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was

finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Wanderers who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the brahmins who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER II.

1. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory :—

"Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?"

[186] 'And then occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :—

"Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,—that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control¹."

2. 'Now the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex; and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion :—

"Stay here, O thoughts of lust!

Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will!

Stay here, O thoughts of hatred!

Thus far only, O thoughts of lust!

Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will!

Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred!"

3. 'And when, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory had entered the chamber of the Great Complex, and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First Rapture,—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

'By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into, and remained in, the Second Rapture,—

¹ I have here translated *kamma* by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been to preserve in the translation the technical term *karma*, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.

a state of joy and ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

'By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce. saying:—"The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease," and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third Rapture.

'By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth Rapture,—a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain¹.

4. 'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the

¹ The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience. It implies neither hypnotism nor trance.

world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

'And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity¹; [187] and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

5. 'The Great King of Glory, Ânanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusâvatî:

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness:

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex:

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions:

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief:

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—

¹ These are the four Appamâññas or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § 13) the four Brahma-vihâras or Sublime Conditions. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after the state of feeling described in the Raptures; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist.

of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom Subhaddâ, the Queen of Glory¹, was the chief: [188]

'Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze:

'Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

'Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning rice was served².'

6. 'Now at that time, Ānanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

'And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory:—

"These eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser:—

"O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants

¹ Subhaddâ Devî. Subhaddâ, 'glorious, magnificent,' is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhist Hindu literature.

² Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the Moralities translated above, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below.

come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in alternate forty-two thousands, [189] once each, every alternate hundred years!"

"Even so, lord!" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

'From that time forth, Ānanda, the elephants came in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.'

7. 'Now, Ānanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:—

"'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory."

'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem:—

"Arise now, dress your hair, and clothe yourselves in fresh raiment. 'Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!"

"Even so, lady!" said the women of the harem, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser:—

"Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. 'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory."

"Even so, O Queen!" said the Great Adviser, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words:—

"The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit."

8. [190] 'Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she

had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and leant against the side of the door.

'When, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought :—

"What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean?"

'And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory :—

"Stop there, O Queen! Enter not!"

9. 'Then the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, said to one of his attendants :—

"Arise, good man! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold."

"Even so, lord!" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.'

10. 'Then, Ānanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought :—

"How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead¹!"

'And she said to the Great King of Glory :—

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand

¹ On the approach of death, explains the commentator, people are transfigured, shine forth. This idea may be the source of the legend of the Transfiguration translated above, p. 146, 'Book of the Great Decease,' IV, 37.

cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvati. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these ! quicken thy longing after life ! [191]

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thundercloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“ Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life [192].

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

“Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.”

11. ‘When she had thus spoken, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Queen of Glory:—

“Long hast thou addressed me, O Queen, in pleasant words, much to be desired, and sweet. Yet now in this last time you speak in words unpleasant, disagreeable, not to be desired.”

“How then, O King, shall I address thee?”

“Thus, O Queen, shouldst thou address me—The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them¹. Pass not away,

¹ The Pāli words are the same as those at the beginning of the constantly repeated longer phrase to the same effect in the ‘Book of the Great Decease.’

O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs¹. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvati. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

[198] “Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thundercloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

¹ Compare Jātaka, No. 34.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of which the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

[194] “Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.”

12. ‘When he thus spake, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wept and poured forth tears.

‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wiped away her tears, and addressed the Great King of Glory, and said :

“The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvati. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the

Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—[195] of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand

myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.”

13. ‘Then immediately, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ānanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy, just so were the feelings he experienced, Ānanda, as death came upon the Great King of Glory.

[196] ‘When the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, had died, he came to life again in the happy world of Brahmā.

‘For eight and forty thousand years, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory lived the happy life of a prince, for eight and forty thousand years he was viceroy and heir-apparent, for eight and forty thousand years he ruled the kingdom, and for eight and forty thousand years he lived, as a layman, the noble life in the Palace of Righteousness. And then, when full of noble thoughts he died, he entered, after the dissolution of the body, the world of Brahmā¹.

14. ‘Now it may be, Ānanda, that you may think “The Great King of Glory of that time was another person.” But, Ānanda, you should not view the matter thus. I at that time was the Great King of Glory.

‘Mine at that time were the four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief was the royal city of Kusāvati.

‘Mine were the four and eighty thousand palaces, of which the chief was the Palace of Righteousness.

¹ The ‘noble thoughts’ are the *Brahma-vihāras*, the sublime conditions described above, Chap. II, § 4. The ‘noble life’ is the *Brahmacariyam*, which does not mean the same as it does in Sanskrit. The adjective *Brahma* may have reference here also to the subsequent (and consequent?) rebirth in the *Brahmaloka*.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand chambers, of which the chief was the chamber of the Great Complex.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called “ the Changes of the Moon,” was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which “ Thunder-cloud,” the king of horses, was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots [107] with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called “ the Flag of Victory ” was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

‘ Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.’

15. ‘ Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ānanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the royal city of Kusāvati.

'Of those four and eighty thousand palaces, too, Ânanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

'Of those four and eighty thousand chambers, too, Ânanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Of those four and eighty thousand divans, too, Ânanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy—to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandalwood.

'Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants, too, Ânanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of elephants, "the Changes of the Moon."

[198] 'Of those four and eighty thousand horses, too, Ânanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of horses, "the Thunder-cloud."

'Of those four and eighty thousand chariots, too, Ânanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the chariot called "the Flag of Victory."

'Of those four and eighty thousand wives, too, Ânanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me—to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velâmikâni.

'Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel, too, Ânanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore—to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

'Of those four and eighty thousand dishes, too, Ânanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.'

16. 'See, Ânanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ânanda, are component things; thus transitory, Ânanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy,

Ânanda, are component things. Inasmuch, Ânanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things!'

17. 'Now I call to mind, Ânanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures—that was the seventh time.

'But I behold not any spot, Ânanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mâra, nor in the world of Brâhma—no, not among the race of Samanas or Brahmins, of gods or men,—where the Tathâgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body¹.'

Thus spake the Exalted One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:—

'How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay;
They are produced, they are dissolved again;
To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss².'

End of the Mahâ-Sudassana-Suttanta.

¹ The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the Jâtaka. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the stories are composed—a style incompatible with the repetitions of the Suttas, and confined to the facts of the story.

But I think that no one can read this Suttanta in comparison with the short passage found in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (above, Chap. V, § 18) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when that passage or episode was first composed, attained to its present extended form.

² On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahâparinibbâna Suttanta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods. The principal word, *samkhâra* (states, or things, or phenomena), is discussed in the Introduction to this Suttanta. See the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society' for 1909, and below, p. 248.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

JANA-VASABHA SUTTANTA.

JUST as the Mahā-Sudassana is based on one paragraph now incorporated in the Book of the Great Decease, and the Sampasādaniya is based on another, so our present Suttanta is based on a third.

In the other two cases it is probable, but not certain, that the expansion is later than the paragraph. In this case the available evidence, small as it is, points to a more decisive conclusion. It is easy to point out that probably no one can read the opening paragraphs of the Jana-vasabha, with the episode about the Nāḍika adherents in the Book of the Great Decease¹ in his mind, without seeing at once that the latter is older. It is not so easy to point out why—so much depends, in the comparison of two passages of literature, on the personal equation, so evasive are the slight *nuances* of meaning when it is attempted to set them forth at length.

But this can be said. In the Book of the Great Decease the rebirths of certain followers at Nāḍika are explained. In the Jana-vasabha, for the sake of the story that follows about Bimbisāra, the well-known king of Magadha, it was necessary to include Magadha; and it was desirable to emphasize Magadha. Magadha is accordingly left out in the first list of localities, and special reasons are then given why it should be included. The story begins by stating that the Buddha used to tell how adherents of the new teaching, who belonged to one or other of ten tribes, had fared in their rebirths. As an example of how he did so the paragraph about the adherents in Nāḍika—which is not one of the ten tribes just mentioned—is given word for word. Now, unless that paragraph had been before the story-teller he would surely have given, as an example, one or other, or all, of the ten tribes. As it stands the Nāḍika paragraph, and indeed the mention of Nāḍika at all, is out of place. On the supposition that the

¹ Digha II, 91-93.

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¹ Digha II, 91-93.

taste. And they all accepted as a matter of course the existence of gods and fairies, and ethereal beings of varied character and radiance. We cannot therefore be surprised to find that this group of Suttantas all directed to the one purpose of persuading the people that the gods were on the side of the reforming party, attained a lasting success. Even when the Buddhists, some centuries after the death of the Buddha, began to write in Sanskrit, they still quoted from these Pāli mythological legends, and from those passages of them which seem to our taste the most bizarre¹.

There are two expressions in our Suttaṅga which merit a longer discussion than is possible in a note. These are

kenacid eva karaṇīyena and
yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitam

In each case the question arises whether the *d* is to be taken as added for euphony, or whether it should be taken with the following eva to form the word deva, god.

Buddhaghosa comments on the former phrase when it occurs in the Assalāyana (M. II, 147). There certain brahmins are said to be staying at Sāvatti kenacid eva karaṇīyena (as Sir Robert Chalmers prints it), that is, 'on some business or other.' Prof. Pischel, however, in the separate edition he published at Chemnitz in 1880, prints it kena ci devakaraṇīyena, that is 'on some matter connected with worship of the gods.' The Papanca Sūdanī has kenacidevāti yaññūpāsanaḍḍinā aniyamita-kiccena, 'on some undetermined matter such as sacrifice, worship, or so on.' This is an explanation of the *meaning* of the phrase as found in that connexion, and not a direction as to whether the phrase contains the word deva or the word eva. The gloss would be equally correct in either case. In our Suttaṅga the phrase occurs in § 11 where Jana-vasabha is sent by one god to another kenacid eva karaṇīyena. Here it seems quite unnecessary to mention that he was sent 'on business referring to the god,' and the phrase may well be taken in its ordinary sense as, for instance, in the Mahā-parinibbāna (D. II, 147). There Ānanda goes to the Mallas to announce the impending death of the Buddha and finds them assembled in their Mote Hall kenacid eva karaṇīyena—clearly, in this connexion 'on some business or other.' (Cp. D. II, 159.) It may, indeed, be objected that the clansmen may have been consulting about some business 'connected with the gods.' That seems, how-

¹ See further the remarks in 'Buddhist India,' pp. 219 ff.

ever, unlikely. If really meant it would have been expressed otherwise. And frankly it is most doubtful whether the suggested phrase *deva-karaṇiya* 'god-business' is really a good Pāli idiom at all. The best conclusion therefore, in the present state of our knowledge of that idiom, is that the right reading is *eva*, not *deva*, and that the phrase always means 'on some business or other.'

The other case is more difficult. The phrase occurs at the end of the epilogue to our Suttanta. It recurs in the *Sampasādanīya* (D. III, 122). In both places it is evidently an excerpt from the stock episode found in the *Anguttara* IV, 308 ff., the *Samyutta* V, 258 ff., and the *Udāna* VI, 1, and incorporated in the *Mahā-parinibbāna* (D. II, 102 ff., see especially pp. 106, 114). There the Buddha refuses to die till certain things have been accomplished. These are (1) until the *Bhikkhus* shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, &c.—(2) until they, having themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, expound it, &c.—(3) until they shall be able, by the truth, to refute vain doctrine—(4) until the way of good life shall have become wide spread and popular—(5) *yavad eva manussehi pakāsitaṃ*, apparently meaning 'until it shall have been well proclaimed among men' (or perhaps 'by men' as Prof. Windisch renders, *Mara and Buddha*, p. 72). The same set of conditions is then repeated, reading for '*Bhikkhus*,' '*Bhikkhunis*,' '*laymen*' and '*lay women*' respectively. The conditions, it will be observed, are all of them conditions to obtain among humans. Nevertheless the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 202), in Sanskritising (or re-writing) the passage, doubles the *d* (*yavad devamanushyebhyaḥ*), and so introduces the gods—'until it shall have been well proclaimed among (or by) *gods and men*.' Later tradition does the same. *Buddhaghosa* brings in the gods in his comments on the *Digha* passages. But the question is, did the version of the episode, as *originally composed*, have this meaning? The context is against it. Another constantly repeated phrase about the reform being 'for the good and the weal and the gain of gods and men,' is, as Dr. Estlin Carpenter suggests to me, in its favour. But it may be precisely the haunting memory of that phrase that influenced the author of the version included in the *Divyāvadāna*, and also *Buddhaghosa*. When once the gods got in, it would be most difficult to dislodge them. There the matter must, for the present, be left.

[XVIII. JANA-VASABHA SUTTANTA.

JANA-VASABHA'S STORY.]

THUS have I heard.

1. [200]¹ The Exalted One was once staying in Nâdika, at the Brick House. Now at that time the Exalted One was wont to make declarations as to the rebirths of such followers (of the doctrine) as had passed away in death among the tribes round about on every side—among the Kâsis and Kosalans, the Vajjians and Mallas, the Chetis and Vamsas, the Kurus and Panchâlas, the 'Macchas and Sûrasenas—saying : 'Such an one has been reborn there, and such an one there². From Nâdika upwards of fifty adherents, who passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Five Bonds that bind people to this world³, have become inheritors of the highest heavens, there to pass utterly away, thence never to return. Full ninety adherents in Nâdika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and reduced to a minimum lust ill-will and delusion, have become Once-returners, and on their first return to this world shall make an end of pain. Over five hundred adherents of Nâdika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and become converted, cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the higher stages of the Path).'

2. [201] Now the adherents at Nâdika, when they heard these revelations, were pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness at these solutions by the

¹ See above pp. 97 ff., and the notes there.

² For the details see above, p. 98, § 7.

³ See 'Dialogues,' I, pp. 200, 201.

Exalted One of the problems that had been put to him.

3. Now the venerable Ānanda heard [of these declarations made by the Exalted One, and of the satisfaction felt by the adherents at Nāḍika].

4. And this idea occurred to him :—‘ But there were also [202] adherents in Magadha, many of them, and of long religious experience, who have passed away in death. One might think that Anga and Magadha were void of adherents who have passed away in death. For they too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, they had fulfilled the moral precepts. And yet concerning them, since they passed away in death, nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to them ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Then too there was Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, righteous and ruling righteously, benign to priests and laymen, to town-folk and country-folk. His fame are men verily spreading abroad saying :—“ Dead is our so righteous king of righteous rule who made us so happy ! How well have we lived in the kingdom of that righteous king ! ” Now he too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, and fulfilled the moral precepts. And people verily have also said, “ Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, who up to the day of his death was given to praises of the Exalted One, is dead. ” Concerning him who has passed away in death nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to him ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Moreover the Exalted One attained supreme Insight in Magadha. Now where that took place, how should there be no declaration from the Exalted One concerning adherents in Magadha who have passed away in death ? [203] If the Exalted One declare nothing concerning them they will be hurt. And since they would be hurt, how can the Exalted One keep silence ? ’

5, 6. Having thus pondered, alone and privately, concerning the Magadhese adherents, the venerable Ānanda rose up the next morning and came into the presence of the Exalted One, and being come, saluted him and sat down on one side. And so sitting, he told the Exalted One [all that he had heard and thought¹]. [204] And when he had made an end of thus speaking before the Exalted One, he rose from his seat, saluted the Exalted One rightwise, and went away.

7. Then the Exalted One, not long after the venerable Ānanda had gone away, robed himself in the morning and, taking a bowl and cloak, went forth for alms to Nāḍika. And when he had walked through Nāḍika for alms, after his meal, when he had come back again from his round for alms and bathed his feet, he entered the Brick House and sat down on a seat made ready, thinking over and cogitating upon and concentrating his whole mind on the Magadhese adherents, saying to himself: 'I will find out their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men are bound, what their destiny is.' And he, the Exalted One, saw the Magadhese adherents, whither they were bound, [205] and what their destiny was. Then at eventide the Exalted One, arising from his meditation, went out of the Brick House, and sat down on a mat spread in the shade behind the lodging place.

8. Then the venerable Ānanda came into the presence of the Exalted One, saluted him and sat down on one side. Thus seated he said to the Exalted One:—'My lord the Exalted One looks serene, his complexion shines forth, as it were, owing to the tranquillity of his faculties. Has the lord the Exalted One spent a pleasant day?'

9. 'When you had made that speech to me, Ānanda, concerning the Magadhese adherents and had gone away, I, when I had gone to Nāḍika for alms, had dined, returned, bathed my feet and entered the Brick House, sat me down on a mat spread there and thought

¹ Repeated from §§ 1, 2, 4, nearly word for word.

over, cogitated upon, and concentrated my whole mind on those Magadhese adherents, resolving to know their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men were bound, what their destiny would be. And I saw, Ānanda, those Magadhese adherents, whither the good men were bound, what their destiny would be. Thereupon an invisible spirit made himself heard, saying :—" I am Jana-vasabha, O Exalted One ; I am Jana-vasabha, O Welcome One ! " Now do you allow, Ānanda, that you have ever heard of any one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha ?'

' I confess, lord, that I have never heard of one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha. Moreover, lord, on hearing such a name as Jana-vasabha, I am thrilled with excitement¹, and I fancy [206] it can be no ordinary spirit who bears such a name as Jana-vasabha².'

10. ' After those words had been spoken, Ānanda, the spirit himself appeared before me, a splendid presence. And he made a second utterance :—" I am Bimbisāra, O Exalted One ! I am Bimbisāra, O Welcome One ! 'Tis now the seventh time, lord, that I am reborn into the communion of the great King Vessavaṇṇa. Deceased as a human king, I am in heaven become a non-human king.

Hence seven, thence seven, in all fourteen rebirths—
So much I know of lives I've lived in the long past.

Long, lord, have I, who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny, and now is there desire in me to become a Once-returner."

' Wonderful is this, marvellous is this that you, the venerable spirit Jana-vasabha, tell me :—" Long have I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe,

¹ Literally, the down of my skin bristles.

² Literally, the ' Bull of the Folk,' that is glorious among the people. The name seems scarcely to justify the good Ānanda's excitement, as such epithets were then, as now, common enough in India. But it is part of the art of the story-teller to make a mystery of it.

been conscious of that destiny ; " and again :—" Now is there desire in me to become a Once-returned." How has it come about that Jana-vasabha the venerable spirit recognizes his attainment to a distinction so splendid ?'

11. " Nowise save through thy word, O Exalted One, nowise save through thy word, O Blessed One ! From the moment when I had gone over, in absolute and entire faith to the Exalted One, from that moment, lord, [207] did I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny ; and I now desire to become a Once-returned. Now, lord, I have been sent on a message concerning some business by King Vessavaṇa to King Virūhaka ; and on my way I saw the Exalted One entering the Brick House, and sitting down to think over, to cogitate upon, to concentrate his whole mind upon the deceased Magadhese adherents, in the resolve to know their future, their fate after this life ; whither the good men are bound, what their destiny is. Now it was only the moment before, lord, that I had heard face to face and had understood from his own mouth from King Vessavaṇa, how he had said to his assembly whither those good men were bound, and what their destiny was, so it occurred to me that I would visit the Exalted One, and I would announce it to him. These, lord, are the two reasons why I came forth to visit the Exalted One¹.

12². In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, it came to pass that on the night of the feast of the fifteenth day at the full moon in the month for entering upon Retreat³, the month Āśāḥi, the whole of the gods in the retinue of the Thirty-Three were assembled

¹ These two reasons are : firstly, that he had heard a statement by Vessavaṇa ; secondly, that (having noticed, on his way, how the Exalted One had been thinking on that very matter) he wished to report it to him.

² Recurs slightly altered below, Mahā-Govinda Suttanta, § 2.

³ Vassūpanāyika. Vassa is here used in its technical sense of the yearly Retreat during the rains. See A. I, 51 ; Vin. I, 137.

together, seated in the hall of Good Counsel. And around them on every side a vast celestial company was seated; and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virûhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; Virûpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. [208] Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled and seated in their hall of Good Counsel, with a vast celestial company seated around them on every side, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firmament, this is the order of the seats of the Four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Thirty-Three because they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. And thereat, lord, the Thirty-Three were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying:—"Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing, the titanic hosts are waning."

13. Now, lord, Sakka, ruler of the gods, when he saw the satisfaction felt by the retinue of the Three-and-Thirty, expressed his approval in these verses:—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord,
rejoice,
Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime¹,
Whereas they see the gods new-risen, beautiful and
bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy
One,
The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher
truths²,

¹ Literally, 'and the fair Normness of the Norm,' that is, the rule, not of gods, but of Law.

² Visesûpagatâ. See above, Vol. I, p. 296: 'attains to distinc-

Come hither ; and in glory all the other gods out-shine.

This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,

Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

Hereat [209], lord, the Three-and-Thirty Gods were even more abundantly glad and of good cheer and filled with joy and happiness, saying :—" Verily the celestial hosts are waxing, the titanic hosts are waning ! "

14. Then, lord, concerning the object for which the Three-and-Thirty gods were assembled in their seats in the Hall of Good Counsel, they took counsel and deliberated about it ; and with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were addressed, and with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were admonished, standing by their seats :—

The uttered word th' admonished Kings accepted there, Serene in mind and calm they stood each at his place.

15. Then, lord, a splendid light came forth out of the North, and a radiance shone around surpassing the divine glory of the gods. And, lord, then did Sakka, king of the gods, say to the retinue of the Thirty-Three :—" According, friends, to the signs now seen,—the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth—Brahmâ will be manifested. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmâ to wit, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth¹" :—

The portents now are seen, so Brahmâ draweth nigh,
For this is Brahmâ's sign, this glorious splendour vast.

16. Then, lord, the gods of the Thirty-Three sat down in their own places, saying :—" We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance, when we have

tion so excellent.' Perhaps this technical phrase is to be taken here (as in § 28) in its ordinary sense. It would then mean : 'who have attained to the distinction of rebirth among the gods.'

¹ So also in the *Kevaddha* (p. 200, translated above, Vol. I, p. 281).

realized it, we will go to meet him. The Four Great Kings also sat down in their own places, saying the same. [210] And when they had heard this, the gods of the Three-and-Thirty were all together agreed :—" We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance ; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him."

17. When, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra¹ appears before the Thirty-Three gods, he appears as a (relatively) gross personality which he has specially created. For Brahmâ's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized to impress the vision of the Thirty-Three Gods. And, lord, when Brahmâ Sanamkumâra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, he outshines the other gods in colour and in glory. Just, lord, as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmâ Sanamkumâra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, does he outshine the other gods in colour and in glory. And when, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, there is no god in all that assembly that salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence, with clasped hands and cross-legged, thinking :—" Of whichever god Brahmâ Sanamkumâra now does res anything, he will sit down on that god's divan." And by whichever god he does sit down, that god is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, even as a Kshatriya king newly anointed and crowned is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

18. [211] So, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra having created a grosser personality and become in appearance as the youth Five-crest², manifested himself thus to the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three. Rising up into the air he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of

¹ See Vol. I, p. 121.

² Pañcasikha, which became a famous name in Indian legends, and was adopted by Saivite and Sāṅkhya writers. It is nowhere explained what, or how disposed, his five crests were.

ground, even so did Brahmâ Sanamkumâra, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And seeing the tranquillity of the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three he expressed his pleasure in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord,
 rejoice,
 Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
 Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and
 bright,
 Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy
 One,
 The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher
 truths,
 Come hither; and in glory all the other gods out-
 shine.
 This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-
 Three,
 Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

19. This was the matter of Brahmâ Sanamkumâra's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold characteristics—in a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, and resonant. And whereas, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra communicated with that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight characteristics is said to be Brahmâ-voiced.

20. Then, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra, having created thirty-three shapes of himself [212], sitting each on the couch of each of the Thirty-Three Gods, thus addressed the Gods :—

“ Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three? Inasmuch as the Exalted One hath acted for the welfare of the peoples, for the happiness of the peoples, out of pity for the world, for the advantage, for the welfare, for the happiness of gods and men, they, whoever they be, Sirs, who have taken the Buddha for their refuge, the Truth for their refuge,

the Order for their refuge, they, on the dissolution of the body after death, have been reborn, some of them into the communion of the Paranimmita-Vasavatti gods, some of them into the communion of the Tusita gods, or of the gods in the retinue of Yâma, or of the Thirty-Three Gods, or of the Four Great Kings. Those who fill the number of the lowest group, they go to fill the number of the Gandharva host."

21. This was the matter of Brahmâ Sanamkumâra's speech. And he spoke it with such a voice, that each god fancied¹:—"He who is on my divan, he alone hath spoken."

Speaks but one Brahmâ-shape, the Thirty-Three all speak ;

Silently sits one shape, they all in silence sit.

Then all the Three-and-Thirty with their king too think,

He who is on my couch, 'tis he alone that spake².

22. Then, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra betook himself to one end [of the Hall] and then [213] sitting down on the divan of Sakka, lord of the gods, addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four Ways to Iddhi for the development, thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof? Which are the Four Ways? In the first place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with desire. In the second place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with energy. In the third place a brother practises that way which

¹ In the text read so so devo.

² The first couplet of this verse, oddly enough it seems to us, was a great favourite. It survived among the Buddhists for many centuries, and is extant in its Sanskritised form in the Divyâvadâna, p. 166; and also in the Madhyamaka Vṛtti, p. 118 of the edition published by the Buddhist Text Society.

is compounded of concentration and effort with a [dominant] idea. In the fourth place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with investigation. These, sir, are the Four Ways to Iddhi revealed by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, for the development thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof¹. Now those recluses or brahmins who, in past times, have enjoyed Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they have all done so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, in future times, will enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they will all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, at the present time, enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways.

Do ye see, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, in me a potency of Iddhi like that?"

"Yea, Brahmā."

"I too, Sirs, through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways to Iddhi [214], have acquired such power and potency therein."

23. Such was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And having thus spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods:—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, by the Arahant, Buddha Supreme? Which are the Three?"

In the first place, Sirs, take a brother who is living in indulgence in the pleasures of sense, in association with bad conditions. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires both the main

¹ There are two sorts of Iddhi, the worldly and the spiritual. On the former see above, Vol. I, pp. 272, 3; and on the latter *Dīgha* III, 112, 113.

and the subsidiary doctrines. Having come to this hearing, studying and acquisition, he takes to a life detached from the pleasures of sense, not associated with bad conditions. Under these circumstances he experiences ease and more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise, and, then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is the First Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

24. In the next place, Sirs, take a brother in whom the grosser conditions precedent¹ to action, speech and thought are not entirely calmed down. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth preached, studies it and acquires both the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, studying and acquisition, the grosser conditions precedent to action, speech and thought in him become entirely calmed down. And from this ease is experienced, and then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise and then more than ease, happiness. [215] This, Sirs, is the Second Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

25. In the third place, Sirs, take the case of a brother who does not really know that 'This is good,' 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, study and acquisition, he now really knows that 'This is good,' he really knows that 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is

¹ Saṅkhārā. This paragraph throws light on the celebrated verse given above, p. 232.

excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' For him thus knowing, thus seeing, ignorance is put away, wisdom has arisen. From this extinction of ignorance, from the arising of wisdom, a sense of ease arises and, then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under these circumstances, first ease arise, and then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is now the Third Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

These, Sirs, are [216] the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One, who knows and sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

26. On this matter, lord, did Brahmā Sanamkumāra speak. And having so spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods:—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four Inceptions of Mindfulness¹ for attaining to the Good. And which are the Four? Take, Sirs, a brother who abides subjectively watchful over the body, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his physical being, evokes knowledge of and insight into all other physical forms external to himself. So, again, he abides subjectively watchful over his feelings . . . over his heart, . . . over his ideas, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his feelings . . . his heart . . . his ideas,

¹ The four Satipāṭhānas.

evokes knowledge of and insight into the ideas of others external to himself.

These, Sirs, are the Four Inceptions of Deliberation for attaining to the Good completely revealed by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

27. On this matter did Brahmā Sanamkumāra speak. And having spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Seven Requisites of Intellectual Concentration¹, for practice of right Rapture, for the perfecting of Rapture? Which are the Seven? Right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, [217] right effort, right mindfulness. That concentration of thought, Sirs, which is prepared by these seven factors, is called the Noble Right Rapture together with its bases, together with its requisites. Right intention suffices to maintain right views, right speech suffices to maintain right intention, right action suffices to maintain right speech, right livelihood suffices to maintain right action, right effort suffices to maintain right livelihood, right mindfulness suffices to maintain right effort, right rapture suffices to maintain right mindfulness, right knowledge suffices to maintain right rapture, right freedom suffices to maintain right knowledge.

If any one uttering right speech, Sirs, were to say :— 'Well hath the Exalted One proclaimed the Truth,— the Norm that in this life beareth fruit, that avails not for a time only², that welcometh every one, that leadeth away and onward, that each one who hath intelligence may of and by himself understand!' Then in saying :

"Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!"

¹ Samādhi-parikkhārā.

² akālika. The opposite tāvakālika occurs above, p. 195.

He would be rightly saying that. For, Sirs, the doctrine well proclaimed by the Exalted One is all that; and

“Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!”

For, Sirs, whosoever has unwavering¹ faith in the Buddha, unwavering faith in the Truth, unwavering faith in the Order, and is endowed with the virtues pleasing to the Noble Ones; and whatsoever new gods have appeared in our midst, led hither by the Law, to wit more than twenty-four lacs of Magadha disciples now dead and gone²; these all through complete destruction of the Three Bonds, have become converted, and cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the highest stages of the Path). [218] Moreover there are here Once-returners;

“But of that other Breed to tell,
Of higher merit³, lo! the tale
I cannot reckon, lest perchance
I should offend against the truth.”

28. This, lord, was the matter of Brahmâ Sanam-kumâra's speech. And concerning what he had spoken, the reflection arose in the mind of the Great King Vessavana:—“Wonderful truly is it, Sirs, marvellous is it, that there should be so glorious a Teacher, so glorious a proclaiming of the Truth, and that such glorious avenues to distinction⁴ should be made known!”

¹ Avecca, not as Childers thought from *ava + eti* but from *a + vi + eti*. Buddhaghosa says *acala*. *Veti* (not in Childers) is to wane (see S. I, 135; A. II, 51; KV. 66; Asl. 329), but one can scarcely say ‘unwaning faith.’

² The reading is uncertain. As it stands the deceased disciples belong only to the second group—the new gods. It is quite possible that it is intended to include them also among the men of faith and virtue in the first group.

³ These must be *Anâgâmins*, Non-returners, those who, reborn in one of the heavens, will attain Arahantship there, without returning at all to this world.

⁴ *Visesâdhigamâ*. See note above on § 13.

Then, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra discerning this reflection in the mind of the Great King Vessavana, spake thus to him :—

“ Now what thinks my lord, the Great King Vessavana ? There both has been in past times, a Teacher so glorious, a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction, and there will be also in future times a Teacher so glorious, [214] a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction.”

29. This was the matter whereof Brahmâ Sanamkumâra spoke to the Thirty-Three Gods. And this matter the Great King Vessavana, when he had, in his own person, heard it and assented to it, reported to his own following. And this matter the spirit Jana-vasabha, when he had in his own person heard it so reported by Vessavana, reported to the Exalted One. And this matter the Exalted One, when he had in his own person heard it and assented to it, and had also intuitively discerned it, reported to Ānanda. And this matter the venerable Ānanda, when he had in his own person heard it from the Exalted One and assented to it, reported to the brethren and the sisterhood, to believing laymen and laywomen. And the System waxed influential and prosperous and expanded and broadened with the numbers that joined, so well was it spread abroad among men.¹

Here endeth Jana-vasabha's Story.

¹ Afterwards interpreted to mean ‘ gods and men ’ (see pp. 235, 236). But the last two sentences refer here to men and women only. To put in the gods spoils the climax.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHÂ-GOVINDA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is certainly, in some respects, among the most interesting in the collection ; and for the history of the literature is of great importance.

The subject is twofold, both necessary points at the time, and both scarcely intelligible, without a little attention, to modern Western minds. Even in the East, and to Buddhists, the story now seems somewhat strange and antiquated. The success of the method of argument here adopted has been so far complete that the need of the argument has ceased, the point of view has changed, and the Suttanta, among the most popular in early times, is now, compared to others dealing with the positive side of the doctrine, considered of minor value.

The two points are those of the brahmins and the gods. The method of the argument is not to argue about anything ; to accept the opponents' position throughout, and simply to out-flank it by making the gods and the brahmins *themselves* act and speak as quite good Buddhists, and take for granted the Buddhist position on ethical matters. This is of course, from one point of view, logically absurd. No militant brahmin, in favour of the pecuniary or social advantages allowed to brahmins by birth, would speak or act thus. No god, as he was supposed by his worshippers to be (and he existed only as such), would speak or act thus. But the composer (or composers) of the Govinda knew this quite well. And he is (or they are) scrupulously polite. The actions imputed to the brahmin and the gods, the words put into their mouths, are quite admirable. No one can blame the story-teller that they happen also to be Buddhist. The question as to what the good brahmin ought to be, what a good god ought to do or say, is quietly begged in the most delicate way. On this point—the ethical doctrine—the narrator is thoroughly in earnest ; and he no less thoroughly enjoys the irony of the incongruities involved. It is the fashion to label all Buddhist writings, without discrimination, as insufferably dull ; and the fashion

will be kept up, no doubt, among those who do not see the point of the really very able way in which, sometimes, it is all done. But we may be permitted to appreciate a clever story (even with a moral) in spite of the fact that the story part is a story—all make-believe, none of it historically true.

It has been pointed out above (Vol. I, 208), how a brahmin law book, at a time when the increasing respect paid to Wanderers and Bhikkhus threatened loss of prestige and profit to the sacrificing priests, puts into the mouth of Prajâpati the ferocious remark that he who praises such people (the wandering teachers, &c.) 'becomes dust and perishes.' The writer hoped (quite in vain as it turned out) to gain acceptance for his view by attributing it to a deity. This polemical device was quite in accord with the literary ethics of the day. The choice of the god has an artistic touch, and the anecdote *se non è vero è ben trovato*. Quite a number of other instances might be quoted from Indian books of all ages, though not from Pâli works later than the Nikâyas, nor from works written in Ceylon or Burma. And they are found also in other lands and other literatures. The device is peculiar, not to India, but to a certain stage in religious beliefs and literary taste. It is not in reality so good a device as, at first sight, it seems to be. There are many instances, like the one just quoted, where it has altogether failed. As applied here, in the Govinda, the device has failed as regards the brahmins¹. Where it has had a measure of success (that is, where the opinion thus fathered on a deity has become more or less an accepted opinion), it probably owes more to its validity, or to its appeal to the feeling of the times, than to the help of the deity invoked. The reader may be reminded that the habit of assuming that the deity is on one's own side, of taking it for granted that He shares one's own opinions, comes out quite clearly in modes of expression in constant use, even by very exalted personages, in the Europe of to-day.

Our Suttanta introduces us, in the first scene of the play, to heaven. There the gods rejoice at the increase in their numbers through the appearance, in their midst, of new gods produced by the good Karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama. The king of the gods voices their satisfaction in a hymn; and then utters, in eight paragraphs, a eulogy on the Buddha. In scene two the still higher god, Mahâ-brahmâ, appears. He desires to hear the eulogy, which is accordingly repeated for his benefit. He approves of it, and

¹ This question has been fully discussed, and the reasons for the failure given, above, Vol. I, pp. 105, 138 ff., and especially 141.

adds that the Exalted One had long been as wise as that. In support of this he then tells the story which forms the second act, as it were, in many scenes. Here we have Brahmā's view (that is, the view of the author or authors of the Govinda) concerning the ideal brahmin. It is really very funny; whether we compare it with the actual brahmin of to-day, or with the brahmin as described in the epics and the law books, or with the brahmin as he probably really was in the Buddha's time. The last must have been in the authors' mind all the time; and the incongruity, though quite courteous, is sufficiently startling.

The episode told in Act I, Scenes 1 and 2, has already occurred, nearly word for word, in the Jana-vasabha:—

Jana-vasabha 12, 13 = Govinda 2, 3

" 14-19 = " 14-18.

The intervening passage (Govinda 4-13) contains Sakka's eulogy. A eulogy is also part of the Jana-vasabha (§§ 22 ff.). But it is there put, at a later stage in the episode, into the mouth of Brahmā, and deals accordingly with much deeper matters¹.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from these facts? They would be explained if the episode had existed in the community before either of these Suttantas had been put into its present shape; and had been so popular that it had been worked up, by different authors, in slightly differing ways. Or the author or authors of either Suttanta might have altered an episode, already incorporated in the other, to harmonize better with the particular lines of his own story. In that case it must be the Govinda version that is the later. In it the eulogy is put into the mouth of Sakka, and altered to suit that divinity, because Brahmā's speech was wanted for the story to follow. In either case it is evident that, at the time when these Suttantas were put together as we have them, the legendary material current among the community was still in a fluid, unstable, condition, so that it was not only possible, it was considered quite the proper thing, to add to or alter it.²

¹ This difference in the mental endowments of the two gods,—the one the mere king of the gods, an Indian Zeus; and the other the Great First Cause, the outcome of the highest speculation—is always carefully observed in the various speeches ascribed, in the early Buddhist texts, to these divinities. See above, p. 175, for another instance.

² The doctrinal material stands on a different footing. Already in 1877 I ventured to point out the difference (in 'Buddhism,' pp. 86-7), and the point has since increasingly forced itself upon my notice.

The whole story is retold, in a Sanskrit dialect and in different phraseology and order, in the Mahāvastu. The following table will make the degree of the resemblance and difference plain.

Mahā-govinda Suttanta.	Govindiya Sutta in Mahāvastu.
§ 1	Vol. III, p. 197
2	198
4	199
5, 6	200
8	201
9	200
10	201
12	201
13	198
17	203
19-27	202
29	204
30	205
31, 32	206
34	207
35, 36	208
37, 38	209
43, 44	210, 11
45	212
46	213, 14
47	215
48	217
49	218
50	216
51	219
56	220
57, 58	222
60	223
61	215

Now we do not know exactly when and where Buddhists began to write in Sanskrit, though it was probably in Kashmir some time before the beginning of our era. They did not then *translate* into Sanskrit any Pāli book. They wrote new books. And the reason for this was twofold. In the first place they had already come to believe things very different from those contained in the canon; they were no longer in full sympathy with it. In the second place, though Pāli was never the vernacular of Kashmir, it was widely known there, and even very probably still used for literary work; translations were therefore not required.

This gives a possible explanation of the most astounding

Professor Windisch (in 'Die Composition des Mahāvastu,' Leipzig, 1909, p. 494) supports this view.

fact we know about the Mahāvastu. It purports to be the Vinaya (that is, the Rules regulating the outward conduct of the members of the Order), as held by the school of the Lokottara-vādins. In M. Senart's admirable edition it fills three bulky volumes. There is not, from beginning to end of them, even one single Rule of the Order! No explanation has been given of this extraordinary state of things, though it was pointed out at once on the publication of the edition¹. Prof. Windisch in his able discussion (just above referred to) of the actual contents of the book does not refer to this remarkable omission.

The old Vinaya begins with the Sutta Vibhanga, that is, the Rules themselves elucidated by discussion of their origin and meaning. This occupies 615 pages in Oldenberg's editions. Then follow in 660 pages the Khandhakas, twenty-two in number, dealing with various points of Canon Law. At the beginning of these is an Introduction, explaining how the Order arose; and at the end an Appendix, on the Councils². This old Vinaya has never been translated into Sanskrit. The Mahāvastu is based on the Introduction to the Khandhakas, rewritten, added to, enormously expanded, and arranged according to the order of the Pāli Nidāna Kathā. Now why did the Lokottara-vādins, in their Vinaya, omit practically the whole of the Vinaya, and confine themselves to rewriting the Introduction to what is only a part of the Vinaya? Why did not they also rewrite the rest? May it be because, when they wrote, the old rules and explanations, with which they did not quarrel in the least, were still well known and used in the original Pāli, or in some closely cognate shape?³

It must have been from some such cognate recension, and not from our Pāli text, that the Govinda story was Sanskritised. The differences between the Dīgha and the Mahāvastu are too great to have arisen at one stage. The whole point of the story in the Dīgha is the way in which Brahmā describes his

¹ Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1898, 424.

² There is a supplementary work, the Parivāra, much shorter, and consisting mainly of what we should now call examination papers. This volume, though most interesting from the point of view of the history of Indian education, presupposes the old Vinaya, and is later.

As is well known the Khandhakas come first in Oldenberg's edition, but the order in the MSS. is as above. See for instance Oldenberg's 'Catalogue of the Pāli MSS. in the India Office Library,' J. P. T. S., 1882, p. 59.

³ Compare Oldenberg's remarks on the Chinese translations of Vinaya at the end of his introduction to the Pāli Text.

ideal brahmin as quite emancipated from animistic superstitions and practices. He gains access to Brahmā by practising (with reference, no doubt, to the closing scene of the Mahā-Sudassana, and also to the Tevijjā and other passages) the Rapture of Mercy, one of the Brahma-vihāras, or Sublime Conditions. The Mahāvastu is not satisfied with that. It makes him add to it the kindling of the mystic Fire, Agni (D. II, 239 and Mhvst. III, 210). The paean of delight at the arrival of the new gods (D. II, 227 and Mhvst. III, 203) is introduced in the Mahāvastu by the words: 'He (Brahmā) addressed them in verses.' But it gives only one verse. The others are found in the Dīgha. Perhaps their ethical standpoint did not appeal any more to the Lokottara-vādins. In the eulogy on the Buddha (D. II, 222 and Mhvst. III, 199) the Mahāvastu mentions that there are eight points concerning which the Buddha was worthy of praise. It gives, however, only seven, differing in order and meaning from the eight given in the Dīgha. Verbal differences throughout the whole story are found in almost every paragraph.

In column 136 of Bunyiu Nanjio's catalogue of Chinese Buddhist books we find mentioned a translation of the Mahā-Govinda evidently from some recension different from the Pāli. It would be interesting to know whether there has, in this version, been preserved an intermediate stage between the Dīgha and the Mahāvastu.

[XIX. MAHĀ-GOVINDA SUTTANTA.

THE LORD HIGH STEWARD.]

[220] THUS have I heard.

1. The Exalted One was once staying at Rājagaha on Vulture-peak Hill. Now when the night was far spent, Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies,¹ beautiful to see, irradiating the whole of Vulture-peak, came into the presence of the Exalted One, and saluted him, and stood on one side. So standing Five-crest the Gandharva addressed the Exalted One, and said:—

‘The things, lord, that I have seen, the things I have noted when in the presence of the gods in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty, I would tell to the Exalted One.’

‘Tell thou me, Five-crest,’ said the Exalted One.

2. ‘In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, on the Fifteenth, the holy-day, at the Feast of the Invitations² on the night of full moon, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three were assembled, sitting in their Hall of Good Counsel. And a vast celestial company was seated round about, and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virūhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; [221] Virūpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled, and seated in their Hall of Good Counsel, with the vast celestial company seated around them, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firma-

¹ Pañcasikho Gandhabbo. See above, p. 244.

² Pavāraṇā.

ment, this is the order of the seats of the four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Three-and-Thirty because they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. Thereat, verily, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying, "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing; the hosts of the titans are waning!"

3. 'Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, when he saw the satisfaction felt by the Three-and-Thirty gods, expressed his approval in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord,
rejoice,
Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and
bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy
One,
The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher
truths,
Come hither; and in glory all the other gods out-
shine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-
Three,
Tathâgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

'Hereat, lord, [222] the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more abundantly glad and of good cheer, and filled with joy and happiness, saying: "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing; the hosts of the titans are waning!"

4. 'Then Sakka, lord, perceiving the satisfaction of the Three-and-Thirty gods, addressed them thus :—

"Is it your wish, gentlemen, to hear eight truthful items in praise of that Exalted One?"

"It is our wish, sir, to hear them."

'Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, uttered before

the Three-and-Thirty gods these eight truthful items in praise of the Exalted One :—

5. " Now what think ye, my lords gods Three-and-Thirty ? Inasmuch as the Exalted One has so wrought for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, for the advantage, the good, happiness of gods and men, out of compassion for the world—a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past or whether we survey the present—save only the Exalted One.

6. " Inasmuch, again, as the Doctrine has been proclaimed by that Exalted One, a Doctrine for the life that now is, a Doctrine not for mere temporary gain, a Doctrine of welcome and of guidance, to be comprehended by the wise each in his own heart—a preacher of such a Doctrine so leading us on, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

7. " ' This is good ; that is bad '—well has this been revealed by that Exalted One, well has he revealed that this is wrong, [228] and that is right, that this is to be followed, that to be avoided, that this is base and that noble, that this is of the Light and this of the Dark¹. Such a Revelation of the nature of things, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

8. " Well revealed, again, to his disciples by that Exalted One is the Way leading to Nirvana ; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. Even as the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna flow one into the other, and go on together united, so it is with that well-revealed Way leading to Nirvana ; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. A revealer of such a Way leading to Nirvana, a teacher of this kind,

¹ In Milinda, these contrasted distinctions are given to illustrate the exercise of *sati* ('minding' or 'remembering') by way of careful practice. 'Questions of King Milinda,' i. 58.

of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

9. "Comrades too has this Exalted One gotten, both students only, travelling along the Way, and Arahants who have lived 'the life.' Them does he not send away, but dwells in fellowship with them whose hearts are set on one object. A teacher so dwelling, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

10. "Well established¹ are the gifts made² to that Blessed One, widely established is his fame, so much so that the nobles, methinks, continue well disposed towards him. Yet notwithstanding, that Exalted One takes sustenance with a heart unintoxicated by pride. One so living, a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

11. [224] "The acts, again, of that Exalted One conform to his speech; his speech conforms to his acts. One who has so carried out hereby the greater and the lesser matters of the Law, a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present; save only that Exalted One.

12. "Crossed, too, by that Exalted One has been the sea of doubt, gone by for him is all question of the 'how' and 'why,' accomplished for him is every purpose with respect to his high resolve and the ancient rule of right. A teacher who has attained thus far, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One."

'These eight true praises, lord, of the Exalted One

¹ Abhinippanno lābho.

² Ajjhāsayam ādi-brahmacariyam. Buddhaghosa says these two words are to be taken distributively, and refer to his lofty intentions and to the ethics of the Aryan Path.

did Sakka, ruler of the gods, utter before the Three-and-Thirty gods. Hereat the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more abundantly pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness over the things they had heard.

13. 'Then certain gods, lord, spoke thus:—"Oh! sir, if only four supreme Buddhas might arise in the world and teach the Doctrine even as the Exalted One! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for compassion to the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

'And certain other gods spoke thus:—"It would suffice, sir, if there arose three supreme Buddhas in the world."

'And certain other gods spoke thus:—"It would suffice, sir, if two supreme Buddhas arose in the world . . . for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

14. [225] 'Then answered Sakka, ruler of the gods to the Three-and-Thirty:—"Nowhere, gentlemen, and at no time is it possible that, in one and the same world-system, two Arahant Buddhas supreme should arise together, neither before nor after the other. This can in no wise be. Ah! gentlemen, would that this Blessed One might yet live for long years to come, free from disease and free from suffering! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for loving compassion to the universe, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!"

'Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods having thus deliberated and taken counsel together concerning the matter for which they were assembled and seated in the Hall of Good Counsel, with respect to that matter the Four Kings were receivers of the spoken word, the Four Great Kings were receivers of the admonition given, remaining the while in their places, not retiring¹.

¹ This sounds very much as if the Four Great Kings were looked upon as Recorders (in their memory, of course) of what had been

Taking the uttered word and speech, the Kings
Stood there, serene and calm, each in his place.

15. ' Then, lord, from out of the North came forth a splendid light, and a radiance shone around, surpassing the divine glory of the gods. Then did Sakka, ruler of the gods, say to the dwellers in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty :—"According, gentlemen, to the signs now seen, the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth—will Brahmâ now be made manifest. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmâ, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth.

Even by yonder signs great Brahmâ draweth nigh.
For this is Brahmâ's sign, this glorious splendour vast.

[220] ' Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods sat down again in their own places, saying :—"We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him." The Four Kings also sat down in their places, saying the same. And when they heard that, the Three-and-Thirty gods were all agreed saying : "We will ascertain what will be the result of this radiance; when we have verified it, we will go to meet him."

16. ' When, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra appears before the Three-and-Thirty gods, he manifests himself as an individual of relatively gross substance which he has specially created. For Brahmâ's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized for the scope of the sight of the Three-and-Thirty gods. And, lord, when Brahmâ Sanamkumâra is manifested before these gods, he outshines the other gods in his appearance and his glory. Just as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmâ Sanamkumâra is manifested before the Three-and-Thirty gods, does he outshine the other gods in his appearance and his glory. And when, lord, Brahmâ Sanamkumâra is manifested

said. They kept the minutes of the meeting. If so (the gods being made in the image of men) there must have been such Recorders at the meetings in the Mote Halls of the clans.

before the Three-and-Thirty gods, not one god in that assembly salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence with folded hands and cross-legged, each thinking : ' Of whichever god Brahmā Sanamkumāra now desires anything, he will seat himself on that god's divan. And that god by whom he does so seat himself is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, [227] even as a Kshatriya king that is just anointed and crowned, is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

17. ' Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra, perceiving how gratified were those Three-and-Thirty gods, uttered his approval while invisible in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord,
rejoice,

Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and
bright,

Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy
One,

The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher
truths,

Come hither ; and in glory all the other gods out-
shine.

This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-
Three,

Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

18. ' This, lord, was the substance of Brahmā the Eternal Youth's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold quality—a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet and audible, sustained and distinct, deep and resonant. And whereas, lord, he made himself audible to that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight qualities is said to have a Brahmā-voice.

19. ' Then, lord, to Brahmā the Eternal Youth the Three-and-Thirty gods spoke thus :—

" 'Tis well, O Brahmā ! we do rejoice at this that we have noted. [228] Moreover Sakka, ruler of the gods,

hath rehearsed to us eight truthful praises of that Exalted One, and these too we have marked and do rejoice thereat."

'Then, lord, Brahmâ the Eternal Youth spoke thus to Sakka, ruler of the gods:—" 'Tis well, O ruler of the gods; we too would hear the eight truthful praises of that Exalted One."

"So be it, O Great Brahmâ," replied Sakka. And thereupon, beginning "Now what thinketh my lord, the Great Brahmâ?" [he uttered once more those eight truthful praises of the Blessed One, §§ 21-27]¹. Hereat, lord, Brahmâ the Eternal Youth was pleased and gladdened, and was filled with joy and happiness when he had heard those praises.

28. [230] 'And so, lord, Brahmâ the Eternal Youth materializing himself and becoming in appearance like the youth Five-crest, manifested himself to the Three-and-Thirty gods, and rising up into the air, he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of ground, even so did Brahmâ the Eternal Youth, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And he addressed the Three-and-Thirty gods thus:—

29. "Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three? For how long hath the Blessed One been of great wisdom?"²

Once upon a time there was a king named Disampati. And king Disampati's minister was a brahmin named Govinda (the Steward)³. And king Disampati had a son named Renu, and Govinda had a son named Jotipâla. And prince Renu and the young Jotipâla and six other young nobles—these eight—were great friends. [231] Now in the course of years Govinda

¹ §§ 5-12 repeated in the text.

² The Cy. here supplements: Himself desirous of clearing up this problem, it is as if he went on to say, that there was nothing wonderful in that, so he tells the story.

³ It is evident from §§ 30, 31 that Govinda, literally 'Lord of the Herds,' was a title, not a name, and means Treasurer or Steward.

died. And king Disampati mourned for him, saying :—‘ Alas ! just when we had devolved all our duties on Govinda the brahmin, and were surrounded by and giving ourselves up to the pleasures of sense, Govinda has died ! ’

Then said prince Renu to the king :—‘ Mourn not, sire, so excessively for Govinda, the brahmin. Govinda has a son, young Jotipâla, who is wiser than his father was, better able to see what is profitable than his father. Let Jotipâla administer all such affairs as were entrusted to his father.’

‘ Do you think so, my boy ? ’

‘ I do, sire.’

30. Then king Disampati summoned a man and said : ‘ Come you, good man, go to Master Jotipâla, and say to him :—May good fortune attend the honourable Jotipâla ! King Disampati calls for the honourable Jotipâla. King Disampati would like to see the honourable Jotipâla.’

‘ So be it, sire,’ responded the man, and going to Jotipâla he [232] repeated the message.

‘ Very good, sir,’ responded Jotipâla, and went to wait upon the king. And when he had come into the king’s presence, he exchanged with the king the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said king Disampati to Jotipâla :—‘ We would have the honourable youth Jotipâla administer for us. Let him not refuse to do so. I will set him in his father’s place and appoint him to the Stewardship¹.’

‘ So be it, sire,’ replied Jotipâla in assent.

31. So king Disampati appointed Jotipâla as his Steward, and set him in his father’s place. And thus appointed and installed, whatever matters his father had administered, those did Jotipâla administer ; and

¹ Govindiye abhisificissâmi. Literally, ‘ I will anoint him to the Govinda-ship ’ (the Lordship over the herds). The expression ‘ anoint ’ is noteworthy. It suggests that the office was of royal rank. But a king was of lower rank then than now.

whatever his father had not administered, those matters did he too not administer. And whatever works his father had accomplished, and no others, even such works, and no others, did he too accomplish. Of him men said:—‘The brahmin is verily a Steward! A Great Steward is verily this brahmin!’ And on this wise Jotipâla came to be called the High Steward.

32. Now it came to pass that the Great Steward went to those six nobles, and said to them: ‘Disampati the king is old and wasted with age, [233] full of years, and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the survival of the living? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint Renu the prince as king. I suggest, gentlemen, that you wait on prince Renu, and say to him thus: ‘We are the dear, beloved, and congenial friends of our lord Renu. We are happy when our lord is happy; unhappy when he is unhappy. Disampati, our lord king, is old and wasted with age, full of years and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the living? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint our lord Renu king. If our lord Renu should gain the sovereignty, let him divide it with us.’’

33. ‘So be it,’ responded the six nobles, and waiting upon prince Renu they repeated these words to him.

‘Why, sirs, who besides myself ought to prosper in this realm if it be not you? If I, sirs, shall gain the sovereignty, I will divide it with you.’

34. [234] And it came to pass in course of time that king Disampati died. And after his death, the king-makers anointed Renu his son king. And he, when he was made king, lived surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Then the High Steward went to those six nobles and said thus:—

‘Disampati, gentlemen, is dead, and my lord Renu lives surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Well, gentlemen, who can say? The pleasures of sense are intoxicating, I would suggest, gentlemen,

that you wait on king Renu, and say to him : " king Disampati, my lord, is dead, my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ? " "

' Very good, sir,' responded the six nobles, and going into Renu's presence, they said :—

' King Disampati, sire, is dead, and my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ? '

' I do remember my promise, gentlemen. Which of you gentlemen now is able successfully to divide this mighty earth, so broad on the north and . . . ¹ on the south, into seven equal portions ? '

' Who, sire, is able if it be not the Great Steward, the brahmin ? '

35. Then king Renu sent a man to the Great Steward, saying :—' Come, my good fellow, go to the Great Steward, the brahmin, and say : " The king has sent for you, my lord." ' [235] And the Great Steward was told and obeyed, and, coming into the king's presence, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said the king to him : ' Will you go, my lord Steward, and so divide this great earth wide on the north and . . . on the south into seven equal portions, all . . . '

' Very good, sire,' responded the High Steward, [And this he did.]

36. And king Renu's country held the central position. As it is said :—

¹ *Saka/amukka*. This adjective, applied here to the earth, and at the end of the next section to the seven kingdoms, is at present quite unintelligible; and is left untranslated. The traditional explanations differ. Samarasekara (Colombo, 1905) translates here (p. 1016) *dakuṃu pasin gael mukhayak lesa/a*, that is, 'on the south side like a waggon's mouth.' Buddhaghosa has nothing here; but below as applied to the kingdoms he explains 'with their mouths debouching together.' Neither is satisfactory. It has been suggested that it might mean 'facing the Wain,' that is, the constellation of the Great Bear. But this is unfortunately in the North. The front opening of a bullock waggon is (now) elliptical in form.

Dantapura of the Kâlingas, and Potana for the Assakas,
Mâhissatî for the Avantîs, and Roruka in the Sovira land.

Mithilâ of the Videhâs, and then Campâ among the Ângas,

Lastly Benares in the Kâsî realm :—all these did the Great Steward wisely plan.

[236] Then were those six nobles well pleased each with his allotted gain, and at the success of his plan. For they said :—‘What we wished for, what we desired, what we intended, what we aimed at, lo! that is what we have gotten.’ And the seven kings were named :—

Sattabhu and Brahmadatta, Vessabhu with Bharata, Renu and two Dhataratthas :—These are the seven Bhâratas.¹

Here ends the first Portion for Recitation.

¹ If we follow the order of the names in this no doubt very old mnemonic doggrell, the result may be tabulated thus :—

<i>City.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>King.</i>
1. Dantapura	Kâlingas	Sattabhu.
2. Potana	Assakas	Brahmadatta.
3. Mâhissatî	Avantis	Vessabhu.
4. Roruka	Sovîras	Bharata.
5. Mithilâ	Videhas	Renu.
6. Campâ	Ângas	Dhatarattha.
7. Bârânasi	Kâsîs	Dhatarattha.

This list is enough to show that the verses do not fit with the story. Renu's kingdom is said in the text to be in the middle. No one of these seven kingdoms is in the midst of the others. Benares would suit that position less badly, than any other. It was probably intended therefore that Disampati and Renu were kings or chieftains in Benares. The king Bharata of the Sovîras of J. III, 470 may be the same as the Bharata who also appears in the table here as king of the Sovîras. The Renu of J. IV, 444 is king of the Kurus. None of the numerous Brahmadattas in the Jâtakas can be identified with our Brahmadatta. Our Disampati and Renu are referred to, apparently as kings of Benares, at Dipavamsa III, 40.

The verses survived, but in a very corrupt state, down to the time of the Mahâvastu (Vol. III, p. 208, ed. Senart).

37. Now those six nobles came to the High Steward and said to him:—‘Just as the honourable Steward was dear, beloved and congenial as companion to Renu the king, so has he been also to us a companion, dear, beloved and congenial. We would that the honourable Steward administer our affairs; we trust he will not refuse to do so.’

‘Very good, sirs,’ replied the Great Steward. And so he instructed those seven anointed kings in government; and he taught the mantras to seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins and to seven hundred young graduates.

38. [237] Now later on the excellent reputation of the brahmin, the High Steward, was noised abroad after this fashion:—‘With his own eyes the High Steward sees Brahmâ! Face to face does the High Steward commune with Brahmâ, converse and take counsel with Him!’ Then the High Steward thought: ‘This flattering rumour is noised abroad about me, that I both see Brahmâ and hold converse with Him. Now I neither see Him, nor commune with Him, nor converse or take counsel with Him. But I have heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and pupils, say: “He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the ecstasy of pity, *he* sees Brahmâ, communes, converses, takes counsel with Brahmâ? What if I now were to cultivate that discipline?”’

39. So the High Steward waited on king Renu, and telling him of the reputation imputed to himself, and of his wish to practise seclusion, added: ‘I wish, sir, to meditate during the four months of the rains and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who will bring me my meals.’

‘Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.’

40. [238] And the High Steward went round to each of the six nobles, told them the same, and took his leave of them also.

41. Then he went to those seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins, and to the seven hundred graduates,

and telling them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise seclusion], said :—‘Wherefore, sirs, according as you have heard the mantras and have committed them to memory, continue to rehearse them in full, and teach them to each other. I, sirs, wish to meditate during the four months of the rains, and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who shall bring me my meals.’

‘Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.’

42. [239] Next the High Steward went to his forty wives who were all on an equality, and told them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise ecstasy in seclusion. And they replied like the others.]

43. Then the High Steward had a new rest-house built eastward of the city, and there for the four months of the rains he meditated, rapt in the Ecstasy of Pity ; nor did any one have access to him save one who brought him his meals. But when the four rainy months were over, then verily came disappointment and anguish over him as he thought : ‘Here have I heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and their pupils, say : “He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the Ecstasy of Pity, he sees Brahmâ, communes, converses, and takes counsel with Brahmâ.” But I see not Brahmâ, I commune not, nor converse, nor take counsel with Him.’

44. Then Brahmâ, the Eternal Youth, when in his mind he knew the thoughts [240] of the High Steward’s mind, vanished from his heaven, and, like a strong man shooting his arm out or drawing back his out-shot arm, appeared before the High Steward. Then verily came fear, then came trembling upon the High Steward, then did the hair of his flesh stand up¹ when he saw this thing that had never been seen before. And he, full of fear and dread with stiffening hair, addressed Brahmâ the Eternal Youth in these verses :—

¹ See above, p. 240.

'O Vision fair, O glorious and divine!
Who art thou, lord? knowing thee not we ask,
That we may know!'

'In heaven supreme I'm known
As the Eternal Youth. All know me there.
Know me e'en thou, Govinda.'

'To a Brahmâ Blest
Let seat and water for the feet and sweet
Cooked cakes and drink be brought. We ask what gift
The Lord would take. Would he himself decide
The form for us¹.'

'Hereby we take thy gift,
And now—whether it be for good and gain
In this thy present life, or for thy weal
In that which shall be—Thou hast leave. Come, ask,
Govinda, whatsoe'er thou fain would'st have?'

45. Then the High Steward thought: 'Leave is given me by Brahmâ the Eternal Youth! What now shall I ask of him, some good thing for this life, or a future good?' [241] Then it occurred to him: 'I am an expert regarding what is profitable for this life. Even others consult me about that. What now if I were to ask Brahmâ the Eternal Youth for something of advantage in a life to come?' And he addressed the god in these verses:—

'I ask the Brahmâ, the Eternal Youth,
Him past all doubt I, doubting, ask aient
The things that others would fain know about.
Wherein proficient, in what method trained
Can mortal reach th' immortal world of Brâhm?'

¹ The expressions here are all elliptical, and it is not certain that the meanings supplied are quite right as the idioms *agghe pucchati* and *aggham no karoti* do not occur elsewhere. The sequence of ideas would seem to be: 'Only such and such are fit to be offered as a mark of respect to so holy a deity. But not knowing which is best, I ask. Let the Holy One make it right.' Then the deity, who wants nothing, taking the will for the deed, says he accepts; and offers a boon.

'He among men, O Brahmin, who eschews
 All claims of "me" and "mine"; he in whom thought
 Rises in lonely calm, in pity rapt,
 Loathing all foul things, dwelling in chastity,—
 Herein proficient, in such matters trained,
 Mortal can reach th' immortal heav'n of Brâhm.'

46. 'What the Lord saith touching "eschewing all claims of 'me' and 'mine'" I understand. It is to renounce all property whether it be small or large, and to renounce all family life, whether the circle of one's kin be small or large, and with hair and beard cut off and yellow robes donned, to go forth from the home into the homeless life. Thus do I understand this.

'What the Lord saith touching "thought rising in lonely calm" I understand. It is when one chooses a solitary abode—the forest, at the foot of a tree, a mountain bae, a grotto, a rock-cavern, a cemetery, or a heap of grass out in the open field. Thus do I understand this [242].

'What the Lord saith touching "in pity rapt" I understand. It is when one continues to pervade one quarter of the horizon with a heart charged with pity, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does one continue to pervade with a heart charged with pity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. Thus do I understand this.

'Only in what He saith touching "loathing the foul" do I not understand thee, Lord.

'What mean'st thou by "foul odours among men," O Brâhmâ? here I understand thee not.
 Tell what these signify, who knowest all.
 When cloaked and clogged by what is man thus foul,
 Hell-doomed, and shut off from the heaven of Brâhm?'

[243] 'Anger and lies, deceit and treachery,
 Selfishness, self-conceit and jealousy,

Greed, doubt, and lifting hands 'gainst fellow men,
 Lusting and hate, dulness and pride of life,—
 When yoked with these man is of odour foul,
 Hell-doomed, and shut out from the heav'n of Brāhm.'

'As I understand the word of the Lord concerning these "foul odours," they cannot easily be suppressed if one live in the world. I will therefore go forth from the home into the life of the homeless state.'

'Do, lord steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

47. Then the High Steward waited on king *Renū* and said to him:—'Will my lord now seek another minister, who will administer my lord's affairs? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of *Brahmā* which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

'King *Renū*, lord o' the land, I here declare:—
 Do thou thyself take thought for this thy realm!
 I care no longer for my ministry.'

'If for thy pleasures aught there lacketh yet,
 I'll make it good. If any injure thee,
 Them I'll restrain, warlord and landlord I!
 Thou art my father, Steward, lo! I am thy son!
 Abide with us, Govinda, leave us not.'

'Naught lack I for my pleasures, nor is there
 One who doth injure me. But I have heard
 Voices unearthly. Henceforth home holds me not.'

[244] 'What like is this Unearthly? What did He say
 To thee, that having heard thou wilt straightway
 Forsake our house and us and all the world?'

'Ere I had passed through this Retreat, my care
 Was for due altar-rites, the sacred fire
 Was kindled, strewn about with kusa-grass.
 But lo! *Brahmā* I saw, from *Brahmā's* heav'n,
 Eternal god. I asked; he made reply;
 I heard. And now irksome is home to me.'

'Lo! I believe the words that thou hast said.
 Govinda. Having heard the Unearthly Voice.
 How could it be thou should'st act otherwise?
 Thee will we follow after. Be our guide,
 Our teacher! So, like gem of purest ray,
 Purg'd of all dross, translucent, without flaw,—
 As pure as that we'll walk according to thy word.'

'If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home into the homeless, I too will do the like. For whither thou goest, I will go.'

48. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, waited upon the six nobles, and said to them: 'Will my lords now seek another minister who will administer my lords' affairs? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

Then the six nobles went aside together [245] and thus deliberated:—'These brahmin folk are greedy for money. What if we were to gain him over through money?' And coming to the High Steward they said:—'There is abundance of property, sir, in these seven kingdoms. Wherefore, sir, take of it as much as seems profitable to you.'

'Enough, sirs! I have already abundant possessions, thanks to the action of my lords. It is that luxury that I am now relinquishing in leaving the world for the homeless life, [even as I have told you].'

49. Then the six nobles went aside together, and thus deliberated: 'These brahmin folk are greedy about women. What if we were to gain him over through women?' And coming to the High Steward they said: 'There is, sir, in those seven kingdoms abundance of women. Wherefore, sir, conduct away with you as many as you want.'

'Enough, sirs! I have already these forty wives equal in rank. All of them I am forsaking in leaving the world for the homeless life, [even as I have told you].'

50. [246] 'If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home into the homeless life, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'If ye would put off fleshly lusts that worldling's heart coerce,

Stir ye the will, wax strong, firm in the power of patience.

This is the Way, the Way that's Straight¹, the Way unto the End²,

The Righteous Path that good men guard, to birth in Brahmâ's heaven.'

51. 'Wherefore, my lord Steward, wait yet seven years, and when they are over, we too will go forth from the world into the homeless life. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'Too long, my lords, are seven years! I cannot wait for my lords seven years. For who can answer for the living?³ We must go toward the future, we must learn by wisdom⁴, we must do good, we must walk in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that's born. Now I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmâ which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

52. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us six years, ... [or] wait five years ... four years ... three ... two years ... one year. When a year has gone by we too will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

53. 'Too long, my lords, is one year. I cannot [247] wait for my lords one year. For who can answer for the living? We must go towards the future, we must learn by wisdom, we must do good, we must walk

¹ See S. I, 33:—'Straight is that way named.'

² Anuttaro, lit. having no beyond. The Cy. interprets asadisō, uttamo (unique, supreme).

³ See above, p. 268.

⁴ Mantâya. Mantâ vuccati paññâ, says Buddhaghosa. Cp. the commentary on Dh. 363; and Anguttara II, 141-228.

in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that's born. Now I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

54. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us seven months . . . six months . . . five . . . four . . . three . . . two months . . . one month . . . [55] half a month . . . seven days, [248] till we have devolved our kingdoms on to our sons and brothers. When seven days are over, we will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'Seven days, my lords, is not a long time. I will wait, my lords, for seven days.'

56. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, came to those seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and to those seven hundred graduates, and said:—'Will ye now seek another teacher, sirs, who will (by repetition) teach you the mystic verses?'¹ I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

'Let the honourable Steward not leave the world for the homeless life! Leaving the world means little power and little gain; to be a brahmin brings great power and great gain.'

'Speak not so, gentlemen, of leaving the world or of being a brahmin. Who for that matter has greater power or wealth than I? I, sirs, have been hitherto as a king of kings, as Brahmā to brahmins, as a deity² to householders. And this, all this, I put away in leaving the world, in accordance with the word of Brahmā . . . [249]

'If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go.'

¹ Mante. See last note.

² Devatā; 'like Sakka, king of gods, to all other heads of families.'
Cy. The phrase might be taken to mean that Brahmā was not a devatā.

57. Then the High Steward, the Brahmin, went to his forty wives, all on an equality, and said :—‘ Will each of you, ladies, who may wish to do so, go back to her own family and seek another husband ? I wish, ladies, to leave the world for the homeless life, in accordance with the word of Brahmâ . . . ’

‘ Thou, even thou, art the kinsman of our hearts’ desire ; thou art the husband of our hearts’ desire. If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go.’

58. And so the High Steward, the brahmin, when those seven days were past, let his hair and beard be cut off, donned the yellow robes and went forth from his home into the Homeless State. And he having so acted, the seven kings also, anointed kshatriyas, as well as the seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and the seven hundred graduates, the forty wives all on an equality, several thousand nobles, several thousand brahmins, several thousand commoners and several young women from women’s quarters, let their hair be cut, donned the yellow robes and went forth from their homes into the Homeless State. And so, escorted by this company, the High Steward, the brahmin, went a-wandering through the villages, towns, [250] and cities. And whether he arrived at village or town or city, there he became as a king to kings, as Brahmâ to brahmins, as a deity to commoners. And in those days when any one sneezed or slipped, they called out :—‘ Glory be to the High Steward, the brahmin ! Glory be to the Minister of Seven ! ’

59. Now the High Steward, the brahmin, continued to pervade each of the four quarters of the horizon with a heart charged with love . . . with pity . . . with sympathy in joy . . . with equanimity. And so the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere did he continue to pervade with heart charged with equanimity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. And he taught to disciples the way to union with the world of Brahmâ.

60. Now all they who at that time had been the High Steward's disciples and in all points wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the blissful world of Brahmā. They who had not in all points wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the company either of the gods who Dispose of Joys purveyed from without, or of the gods of the Heaven of Boundless Delight, or of the gods of the Heavens of Bliss, or of the Yāma gods, [251] or of the Three-and-Thirty gods, or of the gods who are the Four Kings of the Horizon. Even they who accomplished the lowest realm of all, attained to the realm of the Gandharva fairies.

Thus of all those clansmen there was not one whose renunciation proved vain or barren; in each case it bore fruit and development.'

61. 'Does the Exalted One remember?'

'I do remember, Five-crest. I was the High Steward of those days.¹ I taught my disciples the way to communion with the Brahmā world. But, Five-crest, that religious life did not conduce to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana, but only to rebirth in the Brahmā-world. On the other hand my religious system, Five-crest, conduces wholly and solely to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana. And that is the Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

62. 'Those of my disciples, Five-crest, who in all points wholly understand my teaching, they from the

¹ In spite of this express statement this legend of the High Steward does not appear in the canonical collection of Birth Stories. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 196, for other instances.

destruction of the Deadly Taints have by and for themselves understood, realized and attained to, even in this life, freedom from taint, liberty of heart, liberty of intellect. [252] Those who do not in all points wholly understand my teaching, some of them, in that they have broken away the five Fetters belonging to the Hither Side, are reborn without parents, where they will utterly pass away, being no more liable to return to this world. And some of them, in that they have broken away three [other] Fetters, and have worn down passion and hate and dulness, become Once-Returners, who after once returning to this world shall make an end of Ill. And some of them, again, in that they have broken away those three Fetters, become Stream-Attainers, not liable to be reborn in any state of woe, but assured of attaining to the Insight. And so, Five-crest, of all, even all those persons, there is not one whose renunciation is vain or barren; in each case it will have brought fruit and development.'

Thus spoke the Exalted One. And Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies was pleased at the word of the Exalted One, and in delight and gladness he saluted the Exalted One, and with the salutation of the right side he vanished from that place.

Here endeth the Story of the Lord High
Steward.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHÂ-SAMAYA SUTTANTA

THE method followed in this poem is nearly the same as in the two previous Suttantas, only here it is rather the minor gods,—the local deities, the personification of natural phenomena, guardian spirits, fairies, harpies, naiads, dryads, and many others—who are represented as themselves proclaiming their adherence to the new movement. Important gods are indeed incidentally mentioned; and it is perhaps not without intention that great and small are here thrown together, as if Soma and Varuna and Brahmâ were really all of the same kind as the long list of spirits and fairies in which they appear¹.

The poem is almost unreadable now. The long list of strange names awakes no interest. And it is somewhat pathetic to notice the hopeless struggle of the author to enliven his unmanageable material with a little poetry. It remains, save here and there, only doggerel still.

There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods; the second the frame-work, put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologue), and at the end; the third the prologue, with the verses of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the *Samyutta*, I, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the frame-work in our sections 4, 5, and 6 is very confused and awkward; and the grammar of the frame-work is inconsistent with the grammar of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself, and also the epilogue, had been handed down as independent works in the community before our Suttanta was composed. The frame-work may be the work of the editor.

Our list here begins in §§ 7, 8, with seven classes or groups of gods, without personal names. The personal names begin at § 9, with the four Great Kings of the four quarters; and

¹ So above, Vol. I, p. 17, the worship of Agni is deliberately inserted in a list of animistic hocus-pocus.

§§ 10-20 follow with ten other groups in each of which the principal personal names are given. There is another list of gods in the *Āśānāṭiya* (No. 32 in the *Dīgha*). This other list also begins with the four Great Kings; and then adds, as a sort of afterthought or appendix, the names of forty-one gods, all mentioned one after another, without division into groups and without any details. Our §§ 10-20 look very much like an improved and enlarged edition of the bare list in the *Āśānāṭiya*. The latter is just such a mnemonic doggerel as was found useful in other cases also by the early Buddhists, who had no books, and were compelled to carry their dictionaries and works of reference in their heads. There are other instances in Pāli literature of the original mnemonic verses, and their subsequent expansion, having both been preserved.

As the contents of the two lists, and their great importance for the history of religion in India, have been discussed elsewhere¹, it is only necessary here to remind the reader that when these Suttantas were composed the names they contain were full of meaning to the people; and that the legends here told were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them then so prevalent in the Ganges valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books. Perhaps the most important fact to which they bear testimony is the continual change in animistic belief that went on in India. They are of especial value, as they show what those beliefs were at a particular period. We shall not be able to have a scientific history of religion in India until the absurd anachronisms of the classical Sanskrit literature have been discarded; and until we have learnt carefully to distinguish between the divers faiths and gods which, in those books, are mixed up together, and supposed to have remained the same for many centuries on end.

¹ Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' pp. 219-237.

[XX. MAHÂ-SAMAYA SUTTANTA.

THE GREAT CONCOURSE.]

1. [253] Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling among the Sâkiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times assembled there that they might visit the Exalted One and the band of brethren.

2. Now to four gods of the hosts of the Pure Abodes this thought occurred:—‘That Blessed One is now dwelling among the Sâkiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times are assembling there to see the Exalted One and his band of brethren. What if we, too, were to go into his presence, and before him were to recite each of us a poem?’

3. Then those gods, as easily as a strong man might stretch out his arm, or draw back his out-stretched arm, [254] vanished from the Pure Abodes, and appeared before the Exalted One. There they saluted him and stood on one side. And so standing one of the gods recited to the Blessed One this verse:—

‘Great is the gathering in the glade! The hosts of heaven together met!

We too are come unto this congress blest, and fain would see

The Company Invincible.’

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this verse:—

'The brethren there, wrought up to concentration rapt,
make straight their hearts,
Wisely, as driver keeping grip on rein, their faculties
they guard.'

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this verse:—

'All bars and bolts are hewn in twain for them,
The threshold is dug up.¹
In purity, their way they go,
Stainless, with vision clear, like well-tamed elephants.'

[255] Then the other god recited to the Exalted One this verse:—

'Who in the Buddha refuge take, they shall not go to
woeful doom.
When they put off this human frame they shall fill
up the hosts in heaven.'

4. Then said the Exalted One to the brethren:—
'Oft-times, brethren, do gods from the ten world-systems foregather to see the Tathâgata and the company of the Brethren. Whosoever, brethren, in the past were Arahant Buddhas supreme, upon them waited a like number of the heavenly hosts, and a like number shall wait upon whosoever shall, in the future, be Arahant Buddhas supreme. I will detail to you, brethren, the names of the hosts of gods, I will publish abroad, brethren, their names, I will teach you, brethren, their names. Hearken hereunto and pay heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, lord,' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One spake thus:—

5. 'In measured speech I will give utterance:—
Where'er their realm, there will ye find the gods,
But they who in the bowels of the hills
Sit with heart thoroughly purged and well composed,

¹ 'The bars and bolts and hindering threshold stone of lust, ill-will and stupidity,' explains Buddhaghosa.

Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled

- [256] Seeing within Kapilavatthu's grove
Five hundred such and more, disciples all,
To them who loved his word the Master spoke :
"Celestial hosts draw nigh !
Look to it, brethren, that ye them discern !"
And they, hearing the Buddha's word, forthwith
Strove ardently to see.¹

6. And lo ! in them
Arose vision of those not born of men.
Some saw one hundred gods, ten hundred, some,
And some saw seventy thousand, others saw
Infinite multitudes thronging around.
And all their sight and seeing He Who Sees
Intuitively marked and understood.

Then to his followers who loved his Word
The Master turned and spoke :—"Celestial hosts
Draw near ! Them do ye, brethren, recognize
As I, in rhythmic speech, each in their turn
Proclaim them unto you in order due :—"

7. Seven thousand Yakkhas of our country's soil
Of wondrous gifts and powers exceeding great,
And comeliness, and splendid following²,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Six thousand Yakkhas from Himâlaya,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers

¹ The connexion of the various clauses of this stanza is obscure ; and the interpretations of the native scholars differ. We have followed the version of the Colombo Sannaya of 1891. Samarasekhara's translation (Col. 1905) takes the *assitâ* in line 1 to refer to the Arahants. Buddhaghosa's commentary may be understood either way. All agree in referring *ñatvâ* in line 5 to the Buddha.

² Yassassino, glossed here by Buddhaghosa as *parivârasam-pannâ*, and later, in this Suttanta, by yasena *samannâgatâ*.

And comeliness and splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

From Sâta's Hill three thousand Yakkhas more,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Thus have I sixteen thousand Yakkhas told,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, and splendid following,
Who come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

8. [257] Five hundred more from Vessâmittâ's host,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Kumbhira, too, of Râjagaha town,
Having his dwelling on Vepulla's mount,
More than a hundred thousand in his train,
This Yakkha likewise to the wood is come.

9. King Dhatarattha rules the Eastern clime,
Lord of Gandhabbas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virûha, ruler of the Southern clime,
Lord of Kumbandhas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virûpakkha rules o'er the Western clime,
 Lord of the Nāgas, mighty monarch he,
 With splendid following. Sons has he too,
 Many and strong, all after Indra named.
 And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
 And comeliness and splendid following,
 Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

Kuvera rules over the Northern clime,
 Lord of the Yakkhas, mighty monarch he,
 With splendid following. Sons has he too,
 Many and strong, all after Indra named.
 And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
 [258] And comeliness and splendid following,
 Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

So stood those four great kings within the wood
 Of Kapilavatthu, on the four climes
 Shedding effulgent radiance round about :
 Over the East King Dhatarattha shone,
 To right, Virûhaka, westward
 Virûpakkha, Kuvera o'er the North.

10. With them are come their vassals versed in craft,
 Hoodwinking wizards, apt to cloak and feign :—
 Mâyâ, Kutendu, Velendu, Vitu,
 Viŭucca, Candana, Râmasattha too,
 Kinnughandu, Nighandu (nine in all).
 Next, these Gandhabba chieftains all are come :—
 Panâda, Opamañña too, and Mâtali
 The driver of the gods, Cittasena
 The Gandhabba, Nala, Janesabha,
 Pañcasikha and Suriyavaccasâ,
 Daughter of Timbarû. These princes all
 And with them other chiefs, Gandhabbas too,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

11. Now too Nāgas are come from Nabhasa,
 And from Vesâli and from Tacchaka,

Kambalas, Assataras, Pâyâgas
 With all their kin. Nâgas from Yamuna,
 And Dhatarattha, too, with brilliant trains,
 Erâvana, great among Nâga folk,
 He too is come into the forest glade.

They who twice-born ¹, wingèd and keen
 Of sight, the heavenly Harpies who,
 With violence prey on Nâga chiefs,—
 Gaudy and Well-wingèd are their names—
 Have flown into the wood. [259]—
 The cobra kings felt quite secure.
 A refuge from the dreadful birds
 Buddha had made. With gentle words
 Entreating one another they,
 The Harpies and their prey alike
 To the Buddha as their Sanctuary come.

12. They whom the Lightning-Hand did smite,
 Now dwellers in the ocean, Asuras,
 Vâsava's brethren, they of wondrous gifts
 And splendid train ² :—The Kâlakañjas all
 Of fearsome shape, the Dânaveghasas,
 Sucitti, Vepacitti, and Pahârada—
 With them came Namuci, spirit of Evil ;
 And Bali's hundred sons, all of them named
 After Veroca ³, having armed a host
 Of warriors, hied them to their noble liege,
 And Râhu said, " Good luck attend this mote
 For which the brethren now have sought the
 wood ! "

13. The gods of Fire and Water, Earth and Air
 Are hither come ; celestial Varuṇas

¹ All birds are twice-born, first from the mother's womb (when she lays the egg), and then from the egg itself.

² These are all born of Sujâ, Vâsava's mother, and had been driven out of heaven by 'Him-with-the-thunderbolt-in-his-hand.' The latter had been identified, at the time when this poem was composed, with Sakka.

³ That is, their uncle Râhu.

With their attendant Varuneian sprites,
 And Soma with Yaso. Come, too, the gods
 From Love and Pity born, with splendid train.
 These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty power,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

14. Come Vishṇu with his gods, the Sahalts,
 The Asamas and the Yama twins¹; the elves
 That dwell within the moon attend the Moon,
 The solar fairies too attend the Sun,
 While fragile spirits of the Clouds attend
 The Constellations; [200] Lord of the Vasus, too,
 God Sakka, Generous One of yore² :—

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

15. Now too are come the fairies Sahabhu,
 In flaming radiance like crests of fire :—
 The Aritthakas, Rojas, like azure flowers,
 With Varuṇā and eke Sahadhammā,
 And Accutā is come, Anejakā
 And Suleyya and Rucirā are come,
 Come too Vāsavanesi deities.

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

16. Samānas, Great Samānas, sprites like men
 And sprites like Supermen, are come, the gods

¹ The Castor and Pollux of Indian mythology.

² This seems to come in here most strangely: but it is an epithet of Sakka expressly designed to distinguish him from Indra, the Vedic god, whose epithet was 'Destroyer of Towns,' see p. 297.

Debauched-by-sport¹ are come and those
Debauched-

In-mind², fairies that haunt the Green and they
That wear the Red, they too that Pass-Over,
And the Great Passers-o'er, with splendid following.

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

17. Sukka, Aruṇa, Karumha fairies too,
With Veghanasas, having at their head
Th' Odâttagayhas, come; Vicakkhaṇas,
Sadâmmattas, Harâgajas, and they
Called the Mixed gods with splendid following;
Pajunna thundering is come, he who
Pours down the rains upon the quarters four.

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

18. [261] The Khemiyas and gods from Tusita
And Yâma heav'ns, the Kaṭṭhakas and suite,
Lambitakas and the chief Lâma-gods,
The Fiery spirits, and the Âsavas,
They who rejoice in shapes they make themselves,
And they who use creations not their own².

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

19. These sixty spirit hosts, of divers hues,
According to their name and class are come,

¹ On these described in the Brahmajâla Suttanta, see Dialogues I,
32, 33.

² Nimmânarati, Paranimmita[vasavatti].

And with them others, whosoe'er they be,
 Saying " Him who has outlived birth, for whom
 No barrier stands, for whom the flood is crossed,
 The Āsavas are not, Him shall we see,
 Ferry-man o'er the flood, mighty through purity ¹,
 Moon that has passed beyond th' enshrouding dark."

20. Then Tissa, the Eternal Youth, and with
 Him Paramatta and Subrahmā, sons
 Of the Potent One, came to the congress-wood.
 Great Brahmā, suzerain of thousand worlds
 In Brāhma-heaven, has thither been reborn ²,
 Mighty in power, and in shape awesome
 And vast, of great renown. Ten of his lords,
 Each regnant o'er a Brahma-world, are come,
 And in their midst with all his suite comes Hārita ³.

¹ In this word-play, Nāgo means also N'āgu, not having sin, says the Cy.:—*āgum akaranato*. So the gods, too, make bad puns!—untranslatable ones, alas.

² *Upapanno*. Note the Buddhist care to bring even 'Great Brahmā' under the universal Law, 'rem inexorabilem.'

³ The inter-dependence of the clauses, and also of the names, in this stanza, is ambiguous. It may hereafter become clear that the author (or authoress) thought of Tissa and the Eternal Youth as two distinct persons, or of the Eternal Youth and the Great Brahmā of the Buddha's time as one. The grammar is against the first of these suppositions. But we have seen (above, p. 272, 3) that the Mahā-Brahmā of Govinda's time was *Sanam-kumāra*, the Eternal Youth (so also D: I, 200 compared with D. II, 209, 225); and Tissa according to tradition (*Smp.* p. 296, 7) was the name of a Mahā-Brahmā. *Buddhaghosa* explains 'the Potent One' (*iddhi mā*) as the Buddha; it is much more likely to have been intended for Brahmā, who claims (above, p. 247) to have acquired the potency of *iddhi*.

This legend of the Ever-virgin Knight, *Sanam-kumāra*, is the Indian counterpart of the European legend of Sir Galahad. The oldest mention of it is in the *Chândogya Upanishad* (Ch. VII), where the ideal of the saintly knight teaches a typical brahmin about the highest truth (compare *Deussen's* note on p. 171 of '*Sechzig Upanishads*'). In the *Nikāyas* the Eternal Youth is frequently quoted as the author of a famous verse which says that, though the knight takes precedence among all those that trust in lineage, he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all (see above, I, 121, and M. I, 358; S. I, 153; A. V, 326. At S. II, 284 the verse is ascribed to the Buddha). A similar sentiment is ascribed to him in the Great *Bhārata*. In mediaeval literature he is said to have been one of five or seven mind-

21. To all of them thus hither come, those gods,
 Marshalled around the Lord and Great Brahmâ,
 The host of Mâra cometh up. Lo! now
 The folly of the Murky One¹ :—[262] “Come on
 And seize and bind me these, let all be bound
 By lust! Surround on every side, and see
 Ye let not one escape, whoe’er he be!”
 Thus the Great Captain bade his swarthy host²,
 And with his palm did smite upon the ground
 Making a horrid din, as when a storm-cloud
 Thunders and lightens, big with heavy rains.
 Then he recoiled, still raging, powerless
 Aught to effect.
22. And He-Who-Sees by insight knew all this
 And understood. Then to his followers
 Who loved his word the Master spake: “The host
 Of Mâra comes! Brethren, beware of them!”
 And they, hearing the Buddha’s word, forthwith
 Held themselves all alert. The foe departs
 From them in whom no lust is found, nor e’er
 Upon whose bodies stirs a hair. [Then Mâra
 spake :—]
 “All they, those victors in the fight, for whom
 All fear is past, great of renown, His followers,
 Whose fame among the folk spreads far and wide,
 Lo! now with all creation they rejoice³.”

born sons of Brahmâ, like the Sons of the Potent One in our verse. (For the five see the references in Wilson’s ‘*Vishnu Purâna*,’ I, 38; for the seven those in Garbe’s ‘*Sâmkhya-philosophie*,’ p. 35). Buddhaghosa has a similar tale (quoted J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 344). A later and debased Jain version of the legend tells us at length of the love adventures and wives of the chaste knight, with a few words at the end on his conversion to the saintly life (Jacobi, ‘*Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahârasht*,’ pp. 20–28, translated by de Blonay in ‘*Rev. de l’H. des Rel.*,’ 1895, pp. 29–41).

¹ Kânho, for Mâra. Cf. Kâlî, the Black Woman.

² Mâra is called Mahâ-seno, his army being of course senâ. The Pâli, making no distinction between syena (hawk) and sena, it is not impossible that a pun is here intended.

³ We have followed the traditional interpretation in ascribing these last four lines to Mâra. They may quite as well, or better, be a statement by the author himself.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SAKKA-PAÑHA SUTTANTA.

THIS is the last of the series of mythological dialogues, and in some respects the most interesting of them all. Here we reach the culmination, in the last paragraph, in the conversion of Sakka. Though the various episodes leading up to this culmination are not all equal in literary skill to the charming story and striking verses of Five-crest, they have each of them historical value; and they lead quite naturally up to the conversion at the end.

It seems odd to talk of the conversion of a god. But what do we understand by the term god? He—it is often more correct to say she, or it—is an idea in men's minds. To the worshipper he seems immense, mysterious, unchanging, a unity. And he is, in a sense, a unity—a temporary unity of a complex of conceptions, each of them complex. To use the technical Buddhist terms a god is *khaṇika*, and *saṃkhāra*. In the same sense we can speak of a chemical compound as a unity; but to understand that unity we must know of what it is compounded. Now what are the ideas of which the unity we know under the name of Sakka is made up? Let us take them in the order of personal character, outward conditions, and titles.

Personal.

Sakka has not become free from the three deadly evils—lust, illwill, and stupidity (A. I, 144; S. I, 219).

He is not free from anxiety (S. I, 219).

He is still subject to death and rebirth (A. I, 144). As examples of this it is mentioned that Sunetta had thirty-five times been reborn as Sakka (A. IV, 105), a statement transferred to the Buddha (A. IV, 89)¹.

He comes down from heaven to confirm Uttara's teaching

¹ We have had another instance (above, p. 73) of a detail in Sunetta's biography being taken over into the biography of the Buddha.

that one should bear in mind and compare one's own and others' failings and attainments (A. IV, 162).

One of the shortest of the *Samyuttas* is devoted to Sakka. It has twenty-five short Suttas. In the first and second, Sakka praises energy (*virīya*). In the third he denounces timidity. In the fourth he shows forbearance to his enemy¹. In the fifth he advocates the conquest of anger by kindness; in the sixth kindness to animals; in the seventh he denounces trickery even towards enemies; and in the ninth he preaches courtesy and honour to the wise (to *Rishis*). In eleven it is said he acquired his position as Sakka by having observed in a former birth seven lifelong habits—support of his parents, reverence to clan elders, gentleness of speech, dislike of calumny, generosity, truth, and freedom from anger. Twelve and thirteen repeat this and explain his titles. In fourteen Sakka explains how new gods who outshine the old ones do so because they have observed the Buddha's teaching². In fifteen he says that the most beautiful spot is where Arahants dwell. In sixteen he praises gifts to the Order. In seventeen he praises the Buddha, but is told he has selected the wrong attributes for praise. In eighteen to twenty he says that, whereas brahmins and nobles worship him, he himself worships good men, and Arahants. Nos. 21, 22, 24 and 25 are against anger, and 23 is against deceit.

In one passage Sakka is represented as coming down from heaven to make an inquiry about Nirvana (S. I, 201), and in another as listening, in heaven, to Moggallāna's exposition of the simplest duties of a good layman (S. IV, 269–280).

He, Sakka, is present at the death of the Buddha and utters, in verse, a simple lament very different from the thoughtful verses ascribed to Brahmā (above, p. 175).

He proclaims a eulogy on the Buddha, in which he emphasizes eight points of comparatively simple character (above, p. 260).

These *Nikāya* passages are sufficient to show that Sakka was considered by the early Buddhists to be a god of high character indeed, kindly and just; but not perfect, and not very intelligent. He has reached as far as a good layman might have reached, to the point where his conversion was immanent.

Outward conditions.

Sakka dwells in the *Tāvātimsa* heaven, that is, in the heaven of the thirty-three great gods of the Vedic pantheon.

¹ This Sutta is repeated at *Samyutta* IV, 201.

² The very words of the Sakka-paṭiṣa are here used.

This is not by any means the highest plane of being, nor is it quite the lowest. It is an essential part of the early Buddhist cosmogony (and not held by any other school in India) that there were twenty-six planes of celestial beings:—1. The Four Great Kings, guardians of the four quarters of the world. 2. The Thirty-Three. 3. The Yâma gods. 4. The Tusita gods. 5. The Nimmana-rati gods. 6. The Paranimittavasavatti gods¹. Above these are the twenty worlds of Brahmâ. For practical ethical purposes the stress is laid on two planes only—the six just mentioned, which have a collective name (*Kâ mâ vacara devaloka*), and the world of Brahmâ². It is only the lower of these two that is meant when heaven (*sagga*) is referred to. Sakka dwells therefore in the lowest heaven but one of the lower plane.

There he dwells in the palace Victoria (*Vejayanta*, S. I, 235, 6). It was built by Sakka, is described at *Majjhima I*, 253, and is illustrated on the *Bharahat Tope*³.

Dwelling in that palace he is king over all the Thirty-Three. When the gods fight the Titans (*Asuras*) it is under his banner, and under his orders, that they fight. But he is no absolute monarch. He is imagined in the likeness of a chieftain of a Kosala clan. The gods meet and deliberate in their Hall of Good Counsel; and Sakka, on ordinary peaceful occasions, consults with them rather than issues to them his commands. Yet in ten matters he surpasses them all—in length of life, in beauty, in happiness, in renown, and in lordship, and in the degree of his five sensations, sight, hearing, smelling, taste, and touch (*A. IV*, 242).

Titles.

Sakka. In its Sanskrit form, *S'akra*, it occurs nearly fifty times in the Vedas as an adjective qualifying gods (usually Indra). It is explained as meaning 'able, capable'⁴. It is not found as a name in pre-Buddhistic literature.

Kosiya used, not in speaking of, but in speaking to Sakka, just as the family (*gotra*) name, not the personal name, is used

¹ These are often mentioned in sequence. See, for instance, above, Vol. I, pp. 280, 281.

² The later *Mahâ-bhârata* borrowed this idea, though, as Hopkins points out ('*Religions of India*,' 358), it is 'a view quite foreign to the teaching current elsewhere in the epic.'

³ Cunningham, '*Stupa of Bharhut*,' p. 137.

⁴ For another derivation, a pretty piece of word-play, see *Samyutta*, I, 230.

by polite persons in addressing a man¹. It means 'belonging to the Kuśika family,' and occurs D. II, 270; M. I, 252. It is used once in the Rig Veda of Indra, in what exact sense is not known. Have we a survival here from the time when Indra was only the god of a Kuśika clan?

Vāsava, as chief of the Vasu gods² (D. II, 260, 274; S. I, 223 30. SN. 384).

Purindada, 'the generous giver in former births' (S. I, 230; P. V. II, 9, 12, 13; Jāt. V, 395), no doubt with ironical allusion to the epithet of Indra, Purandara, 'destroyer of cities.'

Sujampati, the husband of Sujā (S. I, 225, 234-6; SN. 1024).

Maghavā, because, as a man, he had once been a brahmin of that name (S. I, 230; cp. Jāt. IV, 403 = V, 137). This had been also, for another reason, an epithet of Indra and other gods.

Thousand-eyed (Sahassa-cakkhu, sahasakkha, S. I, 230, sahasa-netta, S. I, 226; SN. 346). This also had been used of Indra.

Yakkha. Scarcely perhaps an epithet: but it is interesting to notice that even so high a god as Sakka was considered to be a Yaksha (M. I, 252; see S. I, 206).

Inda (= Indra). This is used occasionally of the Vedic god (e.g. D. I, 244; ii. 274; SN. 310), but is applied also to Sakka himself (D. I, 221, 261, 274; SN. 316, 679, 1024). The god Indaka, of S. I, 206 and P. V. II, 9, is quite another person.

Conclusions.

Now what are the conclusions which can fairly be drawn from the above facts? In the first place it is evident that Sakka and Indra are quite different conceptions. Of course Indra is also a complex conception, and not by any means only the savage ideal of a warrior, big and blustering and given to drink. But we shall not be far wrong if we say that no single item of the personal character of Sakka is identical with any point in the character of the Vedic Indra, and not one single item of the character of Indra has been reproduced in the descriptions of Sakka. Some of the epithets are the same, and are certainly borrowed, though they are explained differently in harmony with the new conception. Some of the details of the outward conditions may be, and probably are, the outgrowth of corresponding details as told of the older

¹ This point has been discussed above, Vol. I, pp. 193-6.

² Their names (ten of them) in PVA., p. 111.

god, but varied and softened in harmony with the new conception.

And further, all these mythological dialogues are *Tendenz-schriften*, written with the object of persuading the Kosala clansmen that they need not be in the least afraid, for their own gods were on the side of the reformation. The story-tellers who invented them have twisted the details to suit their purpose. But they will not have changed the figure of the god so much that there could be any doubt as to the god they talked of being the then popular god. To do so would have been to defeat their object. We may be sure that at the time when Buddhism arose the popular god in Kosala was already very different from Indra, so different that he was spoken of under a new name. This remains true, though he probably was a degeneration, as the brahmins would say, or a development, as their opponents would say, of the old Vedic hero-god.

We cannot be surprised to learn that the conception which appealed so strongly to a more barbarous age, and to clans when engaged in fighting their way into a new country, were found discordant, unattractive, not quite nice, in the settled and prosperous districts of Kosala, after many centuries of progress and culture. It is so with every god known to history. He seems eternal. But by the gradual accumulation of minute variations there comes a time, it may be in a few generations, it may be after the lapse of centuries, when the old name no longer fits the new ideas, the old god falls from his high estate, and a new god, with a new name, occupies the place he filled in the minds of men. Of course the priests went on repeating the old phrases about Indra. But even to the priests they had become barely intelligible. The people paid little heed to them; they followed rather other gods more up-to-date, and of their own making. And it was of these new gods that the leaders of the new movement told their new stories to point a new moral¹.

¹ The above is based exclusively on Nikāya evidence. It is confirmed by that of the later books given by Childers (*sub voce* Sakko).

XXI. SAKKA-PAÑHA SUTTANTA¹.

THE QUESTIONS OF SAKKA.

1. [263] Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha, at a brahmin village named Ambasaṇḍā. There he resided on the Vēdiya mountain to the north of the village, in the cave called the cave of Indra's Sāl Tree². Now at that time a longing came over Sakka, the king of the gods, to visit the Exalted One.

And this idea occurred to him :—'Where may he now be staying, the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme?' And Sakka saw that he was staying in Magadha at Ambasaṇḍā, east of Rājagaha, in the cave called Indra's Sāl-tree Cave on the Vēdiya mountain to the north of the village. And seeing that, he said to the Three-and-Thirty gods:—'Gentlemen, that Exalted One is staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha at a brahmin village named Ambasaṇḍā, in the cave called Indra's Sāl-tree Cave, on the Vēdiya mountain to the north of the village. How would it be, gentlemen, if we were to go and visit the Exalted One?'

'So be it and good luck to you!' replied the Three-and-Thirty gods consenting.

¹ This Suttanta is quoted by name at *Samyutta* III, 13; *Mahāvastu* I, 350; *Milinda* 350; *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* I, 24 (where it is called *vedalla*). The last passage is repeated at *Gandha Vamsa* 57.

² *Inda-sāla-guhā*. Buddhaghosa says there was a cave here between two overhanging rocks with a large Sāl tree at the entrance. The village community had added walls with doors and windows; and ornamented it with polished plaster scroll-work and garlands, and presented it to the Buddha. In Fā Hian's time (Legge, p. 81) it was still inhabited. In Yüan Chwāng's time (Watters, II, 173) it was deserted. Both pilgrims were told that certain marks on the rock had been made by Sakka writing his questions (!). The Sanskritisation of the name into *Indra-sāla-guhā* (Schiefner, Böhtlingk-Roth, Julien, Legge, and Beal) is a mere blunder. The name *Indra* enters into the names of several plants, probably merely in the sense of excellent. There is nothing to justify the idea that *Indra* was supposed to haunt this tree.

2. Then Sakka [made the same statement and proposal to Five-crest the Gandhabba, [264] and received the same reply] and Five-crest taking his lyre of yellow Beluva wood, followed in attendance on Sakka, the king of the gods.

So Sakka, the king of the gods, surrounded by the Thirty-and-Three, and attended by Five-crest the Gandhabba, vanished from his heaven as easily as a strong man might shoot out his arm, or draw in his arm outshot, and reappeared in Magadha, standing on the Vediya mountain.

3. Now at that time the Vediya mountain was bathed in radiance, and so was Ambasandâ, the brahmin village,—such is the potency of the celestials—so much so that in the villages round about folk were saying:—‘For sure the Vediya mountain is on fire to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is burning to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is in flame to-day!’ Why, O why, is the Vediya mountain bathed in radiance to-day, and Ambasandâ too the brahmins’ village? And they were anxious and sore afraid.

4. Then said Sakka, the king of the gods, to Five-crest the Gandhabba:—[265] ‘Difficult of approach, dear Five-crest, are Tathâgatas, to one like me, when they are rapt in the bliss of meditation, and for that purpose abiding in solitude. But if you were first to gain over the Exalted One [by your music] then might I afterwards come up and visit him, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme.’

‘So be it and good luck to you!’ consented Five-crest, and taking his lyre he went to the Indra-Sâltree-cave. On coming there he thought:—‘Thus far will the Exalted One be neither too far from me nor too near to me, and he will hear my voice.’ And he stood on one side, and let his lyre be heard and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants and Love:—¹

¹ This idea is found again in the Mahâ-bhârata (I, 2. 383). That poem there claims to be artha-śâstra, dharma-śâstra, and kâma-

5. 'Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
 With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun!¹
 In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
 As thou, O fount divine of all my joy!

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
 Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
 So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
 To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.

[266] As medicine bringing ease to one that's
 sick,

As food to starving man, so, lady, quench,
 As with cool waters, me who am all a-flame.

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
 Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
 Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
 So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.

E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
 Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
 So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
 Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
 Bent out of course; nor can I turn me back,
 No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
 With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
 O nobly fair! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
 Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
 Indefinitely great, e'en as the gifts
 Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

śâstra. So Windisch ('Buddha's Geburt,' 82) speaks of a group of ideas, recurrent in Indian literature, which very happily sums up and exhausts the matter—the Useful, the True, and the Agreeable—to which Emancipation is sometimes added as a fourth. Our passage here is the earliest in which such a group appears.

¹ Suriya-vaccase, the young lady's name; sunshine in prose. See § 10 of the Mahâ-samaya.

[207] Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sâkya Seer, through ecstasy
Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun!

As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
Him as a sâl-tree freshly burgeoning
I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.'

6. When Five-crest had finished the Exalted One said to him :—' The sound of your strings, Five-crest, so harmonizes with that of your song, and the sound of your voice with that of the strings, that your lyre does not too much colour your song, nor your song too much colour your play. Where, Five-crest, did you learn these verses "concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants, and Love ? "'

'The Exalted One, lord, was once staying at Uruvelâ, on the bank of the Nerañjarâ river, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan tree [208] before he attained to Enlightenment. Now at that time, lord, the lady called Bhaddâ, in appearance as Sunshine, daughter of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, was beloved by me. But that lady, lord, was in love with another—Sikhaddi, son of Mâtali the charioteer. And since I could not get the lady by any method whatever, I took my lyre of yellow Beluva wood, and going to the abode of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, I

played my lyre and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One, the Truth, the Arahants and Love :—

7. ' Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun,
In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
As thou, O fount divine of all my joy !

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant !
To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.

As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick,
As food to
Starving man, so, lady, quench,
As with cool waters, me who am a-flame.

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.

E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course ; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
O nobly fair ! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
Indefinitely great, e'en as the gifts
Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sâkya Seer, through ecstasy
Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun !

As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
Him as a sâl-tree freshly burgeoning
I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.

'And when I had finished, lord, the Lady Suriya-vaccasâ said to me :—

"That Blessed One, sir, I have not seen face to face, and yet I heard of him when I went to dance at the Sudhamma Hall of the Three-and-Thirty gods¹. Since you so extol the Blessed One, let there be a meeting between thee and me to-day. [200] So, lord, I met that lady, not on that day but afterwards."

8. Now Sakka, the king of the gods, thought :—
'Five-crest and the Exalted One are in friendly converse.' And he called to Five-crest and said :—'Salute the Exalted One for me, dear Five-crest, and tell him :—
"Sakka, lord, the ruler of the gods, with his ministers and suite, does homage at the foot of the Exalted One."
[And Five-crest did so.]

'May good fortune, Five-crest, attend Sakka, ruler of gods, and his ministers and suite. For they desire happiness—those gods and men, Asuras, Nâgas, Gandhabbas, and whatever other numerous hosts there be !'

¹ When Sakka pronounced his eulogy in the Mahâ-govinda, says Buddhaghosa.

On this wise do the Tathāgatas salute these dignitaries. And so saluted by the Exalted One, Sakka, the king of the gods, entered the cave of Indra's Sāl-tree, and saluting the Exalted One stood on one side. Thus did also the Three-and-Thirty gods and Five-crest the Gandhabba.

9. Now at that time in the cave the rough passages were made smooth, the narrow spaces were made wide, and in the dark cavern it became bright, such was the potency of the celestials [270]. Then said the Exalted One to Sakka :—' Wonderful is this ! marvellous is this, that the venerable Kosiya, with so much to do, so much to perform, should come hither ! '

' For a long time, lord, have I been desirous of coming to see the Exalted One, but I was hindered by one task and another that I had to perform for the Three-and-Thirty gods, and was not able to come. On one occasion the Exalted One was staying at Sāvatti, in the Sālala cottage. So I went to Sāvatti to see the Exalted One.

10. ' Now at that time, lord, the Exalted One was seated, rapt in some stage of meditation, and Bhuñjati, wife of Vessavana ¹, was waiting on him, worshipping with clasped hands. Then I said to Bhuñjati :— " Madam, do you salute the Exalted One for me, and say :—' Sakka, lord, ruler of gods, with ministers and suite, does homage at the feet of the Exalted One.' " And Bhuñjati replied :— " 'Tis not the right time, sir, for seeing the Exalted One ; he is in retreat." [271] " Well then, madam, when the Exalted One rouses himself from his meditation, salute him for me and say what I have told you." Did the lady so salute the Exalted One, lord, for me ? And does the Exalted One remember what she said ? '

' She did salute me, ruler of gods. I remember her words. And this too—that it was the noise of your

¹ That is, Kuvera, king of the North Quarter, ruler over Yakkhas. See previous Suttanta, § 9.

excellency's chariot wheels that aroused me from that meditation.'

11. 'Lord, I have heard and understood when in the presence of those gods who were reborn into the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty before Us, that when a Tathâgata, an Arahant Buddha supreme, arises in the world, the celestial hosts wax in numbers, and the Asura hosts wane. And I myself, lord, have seen and can witness that this is so. Take, lord, this case. There was, at Kapilavatthu, a daughter of the Sâkyans named Gopikâ, who trusted in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and who fulfilled the precepts. She, having abandoned a woman's thoughts and cultivated the thoughts of a man, was, at the dissolution of the body after her death, reborn to a pleasant life, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty gods, into sonship with us. And there they knew her as "Gopaka of the sons of the gods, Gopaka of the sons of the gods." Moreover, lord, there were three bhikkhus who, having followed the religious life prescribed by the Exalted One, were reborn into a lower state among the Gandhabbas. Surrounded by and enjoying the pleasures of the five senses, they used to wait upon and minister to us. Things being so, Gopaka upbraided [272] them saying:—"Where were your ears, sirs, that ye hearkened not to the Dhamma of the Exalted One? Here am I who being but a maiden, trusting in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and fulfilling the precepts, abandoned all my woman's thoughts and, cultivating a man's thoughts, was reborn after my death into a pleasant life, into communion with the Three-and-Thirty gods, into the sonship of Sakka, the lord of the gods, and am known as Gopaka, son of the gods. But ye, sirs, following the religious life of the Exalted One, have only been reborn into the lower state of Gandhabbas. A sad thing, indeed, is this to see, when we behold our co-religionists reborn into the inferior condition of Gandhabbas." Of those fairies, lord, thus rebuked by Gopaka, two acquired in that same lifetime

mindfulness, and therewith the heaven of the ministers of Brahmá. But the third fairy clave to sensuous enjoyment.

12. GOPAKA'S VERSES.

“Disciple once of Him-Who-Sees,—
 By name they called me :—Gopikâ,—
 In Buddha, Dhamma, firm my trust,
 I served the Order glad of heart.
 Through this good service paid to Him
 Behold me son of Sakka, born
 All glorious in the Deva-world,
 Of mighty power, and known henceforth
 As Gopaka. Now saw I men
 Who, bhikkhus in a former birth,
 Had won to mere Gandhabba rank.
 What ! persons erst of human kind,
 And followers of Gotama,—
 Supplied by us with food and drink
 And tended in our own abode,—[273]
 Where were their ears that they, so blest,
 Yet failed to grasp the Buddha's Law ?
 The Gospel well proclaimed to all
 And understood by Him-Who-Sees,
 Each for himself must comprehend.
 I, serving only you, have heard
 The good words of the Noble Ones—
 And now behold me reborn here,
 All glorious and powerful,
 As Sakka's son in Deva-world,
 But you who served the Best of men,
 And by the Highest shaped your lives,
 Have re-appeared in lowly rank,
 Degraded from your due advance.
 An evil sight is this, to see
 One's co-religionists sunk low,
 Where, as Gandhabba spirits, sirs,
 Ye come to wait upon the gods.
 For me see ! what a change is here !

From house-life as a woman, I,
 A male to-day, a god reborn,
 In joys celestial take my share."

Upbraided thus by Gopaka,
 Disciple erst of Gotama,
 They in sore anguish made response :—
 " Yea verily ! let us go hence
 And strive our utmost, lest we live
 The slaves of others ! " Of the three [274]
 Two bent their will unto the work,
 Mindful of Gotama's behests.

The perils in the life of sense
 They saw, e'en here cleansing their heart
 And like an elephant that bursts
 Each strap and rope, so they o'ercame
 The fetters and the bonds of sense,
 Ties of the Evil One, so hard
 To get beyond—yea, e'en the gods,
 The Three-and-Thirty, seated round
 With Indra, with Pajāpati,
 Enthronèd in Sudhammā's Hall,
 The heroes twain left far behind,
 Purging all passion, ousting lust.

At sight of them distress arose
 In Vāsava, ruler of gods,
 In midst of all his retinue :—
 " Lo now ! these, born to lower rank,
 Outstrip the Three-and-Thirty gods ! "
 His sovereign's apprehension heard,
 Gopaka spake to Vāsava :—

" O Indra ! in the world of men
 A Buddha, called the Sākya Sage,
 Is conqueror o'er the world of sense.
 And these his children, who had lost
 All conscience when they left the world,
 Through me their conscience have regained.
 [275] One of the three yet dwelleth here,
 Reborn among Gandhabba folk ;
 And two, on highest Wisdom bent,
 In deepest rapture scorn the gods.

Let no disciple ever doubt
 That by the kind who here abide
 The Truth may yet be realized.
 All hail to Buddha who hath crossed
 The flood and put an end to doubt,
 Great Conqueror and Lord of all !”

They recognized thy Truth e'en here ; and they
 Have onward passed and won to eminence.
 'Mong Brahmá's ministers they twain have won
 A higher place than this. And we are come,
 O master, here that we too may attain
 That Truth¹. If the Exalted One should grant
 Us leave, Master, we fain would question him.'

13. Then the Exalted One thought : 'For a long time now this Sakka has lived a pure life. Whatever question he may ask of me will be to good purpose, and not frivolous. And what I shall answer, that will he quickly understand.' Then did the Exalted One address these verses to Sakka, lord of gods :—

'Question me, Vāsava, whate'er thy mind desires,
 And on each problem put I'll end thy doubts !'

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ We follow the printed text. It is more probable that pattiya is the gloss. In that case the version would be : 'For that Truth's sake, O master, have we come.' The full stop after visesagū is a misprint.

CHAPTER II.

1. [276] Thus invited, Sakka, the ruler of the gods, asked this first question of the Exalted One:—‘By what fetters, sir, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas, and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they, wishing thus:—“Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity!”—do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign?’

Such was the fashion of Sakka’s first question to the Exalted One. To him the Exalted One so asked made answer:—

‘By the fetters of envy and selfishness, ruler of gods, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they wishing thus:—“Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity!”—do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign.’

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One’s answer to Sakka’s question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One’s utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying:—‘That is so, Exalted One, that is so, Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.’

2. [277] So Sakka, expressing pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One:—‘But envy and selfishness, sir,—what is the source thereof, the cause thereof? what gives birth to them? how do they come to be? What being present, are envy and selfishness also present? What being absent, are they also absent?’

‘Things as dear and not dear to us, ruler of gods,—this is the source and cause of envy and selfishness, this

is what gives birth to them, this is how they come to be. In the presence of what is dear or not dear, envy and selfishness come about, and in the absence of such feelings, they do not come about.'

'But what, sir, is the source, what the cause of things being dear and not dear, what gives birth to these feelings, how do they come to be? What being present, do we so feel, and what being absent, do we not so feel?'

'Desire¹, ruler of gods, is the source and cause of things being dear or not dear, this is what gives birth to such feelings, this is how they come to be. If desire be present, things become dear and not dear to us; if it be absent, things are no more felt as such.'

'But desire, sir,—what is the source and cause of that? What gives birth to it, how does it come to be? What being present, is desire present, and what being absent, is desire also absent?'

'Mental pre-occupation², ruler of gods,—this is the source, this is the cause of desire, this is what gives birth to desire, this is how desire comes to be. Where-with our mind is pre-occupied, for that desire arises; if our mind is not so pre-occupied, desire is absent.'

'But what, sir, is the source and what is the cause of our mind being pre-occupied? What gives birth to such a state, how does it come to be? What being present, does our mind become pre-occupied, and what being absent, does it not?'

¹ Chanda. The Cy. distinguishes exegetically five kinds of chanda:—desire to seek, to gain, to enjoy, to hoard, to spend, and includes all in the present connexion with the words: 'here it is used in a sense tantamount to craving (*tanhā*).'

² Vitakka. The Cy. does not give the Abhidhamma definition of this term (see Dh. S., § 7; 'Bud. Psy.', p. 10: 'the disposing, fixating, focusing, applying the mind.' Cf. also 'Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy,' Appendix: vitakka, P.T.S., 1910), but gives as a parallel term *vinicchaya* (see above, p. 55 '*lābham paṭicca vinicchayo*'—'deciding respecting gain'). The word is used, according to Suttanta method, not with any fine shade of psychological meaning, but in its popular sense of *μεριμνάω*, 'taking thought for' (Matt. vi. 25), 'being pre-occupied about.'

'The source, ruler of gods, the cause of our becoming pre-occupied is what we may call obsession'. This is what gives birth to pre-occupation of mind, this is how that comes about. If that obsession is present, our mind is pre-occupied [by the idea by which we are obsessed]; if it is absent, it is not.'

3. 'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has reached the path suitable for and leading to the cessation of obsession?'

'[278] Happiness, ruler of gods, I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided. Sorrow too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided. Equanimity too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided.

'And the distinction I have affirmed in happiness, was drawn on these grounds :—When in following after happiness I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of happiness was to be avoided. And when, following after happiness, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities developed, then such happiness was to be followed. Now of such happiness as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent.

'Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare happiness to be

¹ Papañca-saññā (idée fixe). An exactly similar sequence of ethical states is put elsewhere (M. I, 111, 112) into the mouth of Mahā Kaccāna. Buddhaghosa glosses papañca here by mattappa-mattākāra-pāpāna, where pāpāna is etymological word-play, and mattappamatta may be rendered 'infatuation.' The infatuation is either craving (taṇhā) in one or other of its 108 forms, or self-conceit (māna) in one or other of its nine forms, or speculation (diṭṭhi) in one or other of its sixty-two forms.

This is one of the most recurrent conceptions of the higher Buddhism, the system of the Aryan Path (see above, Vol. I, p. 188), and is one of the many ways in which the early Buddhists struggled to give more precise and ethical an implication to the Indian conception of Avijjā. It is also one of the technical terms most frequently misunderstood. Neumann all through the Majjhima renders it Vielheit, plurality, and Dahlke follows him.

twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'Again, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so? When, in following after sorrow¹ I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of sorrow was to be avoided. And when, following after sorrow, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then such sorrow was to be followed after. Now of such sorrow as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter² is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'[279] Again, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so? When, in following after equanimity, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of equanimity was to be avoided. And when, following after equanimity, I perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that kind of equanimity was to be followed after³. Now of such equanimity

¹ The two sorts of sorrow or grief are *geha-sita* and *nekkhamma-sita*, and are well paralleled by St. Paul's *τοῦ κόσμου λύπη* and *κατὰ θεὸν λύπη* (2 Cor. vii. 10). And the working of the latter: 'for that ye sorrowed after a godly sort . . . wrought in you . . . what vehement desire, yea, what zeal'—has its counterpart in Buddhaghosa's exposition, namely, that through insight into the impermanence of all sensuous satisfaction 'arouses yearning for deliverances even without beyond (*anuttāresu*), and that yearning leads to sorrow, when one thinks, O that I might reach that state wherein the elect (*Ariyas*) do dwell even now.'

² According to the Cy., 'the latter' in this and the foregoing paragraph refers especially to the state of mind reached in the second and higher stages of *Jhāna*, as compared with the first, which is *savīta kkaṃ savicāram*.

³ For equanimity thus ethically distinguished, see M. I, 364. The

as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

'And it is on this wise that a bhikkhu, ruler of gods, must have gone about, who has reached the path suitable for, and leading to, the cessation of perceiving and taking account of distractions.'

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :—'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

4. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :—'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Pâtimokkha?'

'I say, ruler of gods, that behaviour in act and in speech, as well as those things we seek after are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided. [280] And for what reason do I say so? When, in following some mode of behaviour in act or speech or in pursuing some quest, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities diminished, then such behaviour or such pursuits were to be avoided. And when, again, I perceived as the consequence of some other mode of behaviour in act or speech, or of some other pursuit that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that behaviour, or that pursuit, was to be followed after. Thus when I, ruler of gods, declare that behaviour in act, behaviour in speech, and the things we seek after are twofold, I say so for those reasons.'

Commentator (who repeats his comment in Asl. 194) describes the former ethical indifference (*upekhâ*) as that of the foolish average person, confused in mind, who has not overcome limitations or results (of Karma), but is bound by his world of objects of sense.

[281] 'And it is on this wise, ruler of gods, that a bhikkhu must have gone about to have acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Pâtimokkha.'

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying:—'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

5. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One:—'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired control of his faculties?'

'I say, ruler of gods, that the objects of the senses—visible, audible, odorous, sapid, tangible and mental objects'—are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided.'

Then said Sakka to the Exalted One:—'I, sir, understand the details of that which you have told me in outline. [282] Those sense-objects which are not to be followed are such as cause bad qualities to develop and good qualities to diminish; and those sense-objects which have the opposite effect are to be followed after. And because I can thus understand in detail the meaning of that which the Exalted One has told me in outline, I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, now that I have heard the Exalted One's answer to my question.'

6. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One:—'Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion², one aim?'

¹ According to Buddhist psychology, these are not ideas as distinct from impressions, but are *any* presentations or objects of consciousness, whether on occasion of sense or of reflexion, *at that stage* when mind 'turns toward' the object and 'receives' it (*Āvajjana, sampaticchana*).

² *Ekantacchandā*, lit. of one desire, will or purpose; but equated by the Cy. with *ekaladdhikā*, of one heresy.

‘No, ruler of gods, they are not.’

‘But why, sir, are they not?’

‘Of many and divers elements, ruler of gods, is this world composed. And that being so, people naturally incline to adhere to one or another of those elements; and to whichever it be they, being so inclined, become strongly and tenaciously addicted, holding that “just *this* is true, the rest is foolish.” And therefore it is that recluses and brahmins are not all wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion, one aim.’

[283] ‘Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life¹, have they attained the right ideal²?’

‘No, ruler of gods, they are not all so.’

‘Why, sir, are they not all so?’

‘Those recluses and brahmins, ruler of gods, who are set free through the entire destruction of craving, only they are perfectly proficient, only they are perfectly saved, only they are living perfectly the best life and have attained the ideal. Therefore is it that not all recluses and brahmins are perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life, and have attained the ideal³.’

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One’s answer to Sakka’s question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One’s utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying:—‘That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.’

7. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure at, and appre-

¹ Accanta-brahmacâri = ‘se//ha//hena brahman ariya-maggam caratîti.’ Cy. ‘Walking in the highest, Aryan Path.’

² Accanta-pariyosânâ = ‘pariyosânan ti nibbânam.’ Cy. ‘The ideal’ is a free rendering, the term meaning the end, goal or climax.

³ This paragraph is quoted as from the Sakka-pañha at Samyutta III, 13. Two unnecessary words are there added at the end of it. Buddhaghosa does not say anything on the discrepancy. The two words are either there added by mistake from Majjhima I, 251, where the phrase recurs, or stood originally in our text here.

ciation of the Exalted One's utterance, spoke thus :—
 ' Passion ¹, lord, is disease, passion is a cancer, passion is a dart, passion drags a man about by one rebirth and then another, so that he finds himself now up above now down below. Whereas other recluses and brahmins not of your followers, lord, gave me no opportunity to ask these questions, the Exalted One has answered for me, instructing me at length, so that the dart of doubt and perplexity has by the Exalted One been extracted.'

[284] ' Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have put the same questions to other recluses or brahmins ?'

' I do, lord.'

' Then tell me, if it be not inconvenient to you, how they answered you.'

' It is not inconvenient to me when the Exalted One is seated to hear, or others like him.'

' Then tell, ruler of gods.'

' I went to those, lord, whom I deemed to be recluses and brahmins, because they were dwelling in secluded forest abodes, and I asked them those questions. Being asked, they did not withdraw themselves, but put a counter-question to me :—"Who is the venerable one ?" I replied, "I, sir, am Sakka, ruler of gods." They asked me further :—"What business has brought the venerable ruler of gods to this place ?" Whereupon I taught them the Dharma as I had heard and learnt it. And they with only so much were well pleased saying :—"We have seen Sakka, ruler of gods, and he has answered that which we asked of him !" And actually, instead of me becoming their disciple, they became mine. But I, lord, am a disciple of the Exalted One, a Stream-winner, who cannot be reborn in any state of woe, and who has the assurance of attaining to enlightenment ².'

¹ *Ejâ* = *calana//hena tanhâ*. Cy., i e. 'Craving, with respect to the thrill' (e-motion, com-motion) caused by it. 'Passion' lacks etymological coincidence with the implication of 'movement' in *ejâ*, but no other term is forceful enough.

² Cf. Vol. I, pp. 190-2.

‘Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have ever before experienced such satisfaction and such happiness as you now feel?’

[285] ‘Yes, lord, I do admit it.’

‘And what do you admit, ruler of gods, with regard to that previous occasion?’

‘In former times, lord, war had broken out between gods and asuras. Now in that fight the gods won and the asuras were defeated. Then when the battle was over, to me the conqueror the thought occurred: “The gods will henceforth enjoy not only celestial nectar but also asura-nectar.” But, lord, the experiencing satisfaction and happiness such as this, which was wrought by blows and by wounds, does not conduce to detachment, nor to disinterestedness, nor to cessation, nor to peace, nor to the higher spiritual knowledge¹, nor to enlightenment, nor to Nirvana. But this satisfaction, lord, this happiness that I have experienced in hearing the Dhamma of the Exalted One, this which is not wrought by blows and by wounds does conduce to detachment, to disinterestedness, to cessation, to peace, to spiritual knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana.’

3. ‘What are the things present to your mind, ruler of gods, when you confess to experiencing such satisfaction and such happiness?’

‘Six are the things present to my mind, lord, that I feel such satisfaction and happiness:—

‘I who here merely as a god exist

Have [by my acts]² incurred the destiny

To live again once more. Hear, sir, and know!

‘This, lord, is the first meaning implied in what I said. [286]

‘Deceasing from the gods I shall forsake

The life that’s not of men, and straight shall go

Unerring to that womb I fain would choose.

¹ Abhiññā, i.e. knowledge of that advanced (abhī-) nature, which is neither conveyed by the channels of sense, nor is occupied with sense-experience as such.

² Cy. aññena kammavipâkena, by another result of action.

' This, lord, is the second meaning implied in what I said.

' I who have had my problems rendered clear
And live delighting in His Word, shall then
Live righteously, mindful and self-possessed.

' This, lord, is the third meaning implied in what I said.

' And if into my life thus rightly led
Enlightenment should come, then shall I dwell
As one who Knows, and this shall be the end.

' This, lord, is the fourth meaning implied in what I said.

' Deceasing from the human sphere, I then
Forsake the life of men, and lo' once more
A god I'll be, best in the Deva-world.

' This, lord, is the fifth meaning implied in what I said.

' Finer than Devas are the Peerless Gods¹
All glorious, while my last span of life
Shall come and go 'tis there my home will be.

[287] ' This, lord, is the sixth meaning implied in my confession of experiencing such satisfaction and such happiness.

' These, lord, are the six things present to my mind that I feel such satisfaction and such happiness.'

9. ' With aspirations unfulfilled, perplexed
And doubting, long I wandered seeking him
Who-had-on-That-wise-Thither-Come. Me-
thought,
Hermits who dwell secluded and austere
Must sure enlightened be! To them I'll fare.
" What must I do to win, what doing fail?"
Thus asked they rede me naught in Path or Ways.

¹ Those called Akani//kâ.

But me, forsooth, whereas they know that I
 Who come, am Sakka of the gods, 'tis me
 They ask, "What would'st thou that thou comest
 here?"

Thereat to them I teach, as I have heard,
 As all may hear, the Dhamma; whereat they
 Rejoicing cry, forsooth, "Vāsava have we seen!"

But since I've seen the Buddha, seen my doubts
 Dispelled, now would I, all my fears allayed,
 On him, the Enlightened One, adoring wait.
 Him do I worship who hath drawn the dart
 Of craving, him the Buddha, peerless Lord.
 Hail, mighty hero! hail, kin to the sun!

[288] E'en as by gods is Brahmā revered,
 Lo! even thus to-day we worship thee.

Thou art the Enlightened One, Teacher
 Supreme

Art thou, nor in the world, with all its heav'ns
 Of gods, is any found like unto thee!

10. Then spake Sakka, ruler of gods, to Five-crest of the Gandhabbas:—"Great has been your help to me, dear Five-crest, in that you first placated the Exalted One. For it was after you had first placated him, that we were admitted to his presence to see the Exalted One, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme. I will take the place of father to you, and you shall be king of the Gandhabbas, and I will give to you Bhaddā, the Sun-maiden, whom you have longed for."

Then Sakka, touching the earth with his hand to call it to witness, called aloud thrice:—

'Honour to the Exalted One, to the Arahant, to the Buddha Supreme!'

Now while he was speaking in this dialogue, the stainless spotless Eye for the Truth arose in Sakka, the ruler of the gods, to wit: "Whatsoever thing can come to be, that must also cease to be." And this happened also to eighty thousand of devas besides.

[299] Such were the questions which Sakka was invited to ask, and which were explained by the Exalted One¹. Therefore has this dialogue the name of 'The Questions of Sakka.'

¹ 'Was invited' is doubtful. Sakka had not been invited to put any particular questions. Leave had been granted him generally to put any question he liked. Yet the editions printed in Siam and Ceylon read 'the invited questions put.' Buddhaghosa reads *ajjhittā*. It is doubtful whether the other reading (*ajjikkhā*) could be properly applied to a question. In Vin. I, 113 it is applied to a person who is invited to speak. It looks here like a conjectural emendation of a *lecto difficilior*.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

MAHĀ SATIPATTHĀNA SUTTANTA.

THE doctrine here expounded is perhaps the most important, after that of the Aryan Path, in early Buddhism; and this tract, the oldest authoritative statement of the doctrine, is still in frequent and popular use among those Buddhists who have adhered to the ancient faith.

The two doctrines are closely connected. The exposition here of mindfulness (*Sati*) includes that of the Path, and no exposition of the Path is complete without the inclusion of mindfulness. Whosoever neglects the fourfold practice of mindfulness he misses the Path, whosoever practises mindfulness has found the Path (*Samyutta* V. 179, 180, 294). The right way to the practice of mindfulness is precisely the Aryan Path (*ibid.* 183). And that practice is in turn, in one passage, called the Path to the Unconditioned (*Asamkhata*, that is, Arahantship, Nirvana, the goal of the Aryan Path).¹

What then is this Mindfulness? This Suttanta will show. But a few observations may help the student of it. Etymologically *Sati* is Memory. But as happened at the rise of Buddhism to so many other expressions in common use, a new connotation was then attached to the word, a connotation that gave a new meaning to it, and renders 'memory' a most inadequate and misleading translation. It became the memory, recollection, calling-to-mind, being-aware-of, certain specified facts. Of these the most important was the impermanence (the coming to be as the result of a cause, and the passing away again) of all phenomena, bodily and mental. And it included the repeated application of this awareness, to each experience of life, from the ethical point of view. 'Thus does he cultivate those qualities which ought to be practised, and not those which ought not. That is how repetition is the mark of Mindfulness,' says Nāgasena², in complete accord with our Suttanta.

¹ *Samyutta* IV, 363.

² Questions of King Milinda, I, 59.

When Christians are told: 'Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God,' a way is shown by which any act, however lowly, can, by the addition of a remembrance (a Sati), be surrounded by the halo of a high moral enthusiasm; and how, by the continual practice of this remembrance, a permanent improvement in character can be obtained. The Buddhist idea is similar. But the remembrance is of what we should now call natural law, not of a deity. This has been made a corner-stone of the system of ethical self-training. The corresponding corner-stone in the West is conscience; and indeed, so close is the resemblance in their effects that one scholar has chosen 'conscience' as a rendering of Sati;—wrongly, we think, as this introduces a Western idea into Buddhism. The curious notion of an internal monitor, distinct from the soul, yet speaking independently of the will of the man himself, is confined to animistic modes of thought. Buddhaghosa uses it, indeed, as a simile, to explain the connotations of Sati; but he expressly pours scorn on any idea of a separate entity.¹

On the other hand though Sati (Smṛti) does not occur in any ethical sense in pre-Buddhistic literature, it is possible that the Buddhist conception was, in one way, influenced by previous thought. Stress is laid in the Upanishad ideal on Intuition, especially as regards the relation between the soul, supposed to exist inside each human body, and the Great Soul. In the Buddhist protest against this, the doctrine of Sati, dependent not on intuition, but on grasp of actual fact, plays an important part. This opposition may have been intentional. On the other hand, the ethical value of Mindfulness (in its technical sense) would be sufficient, without any such intention, to explain the great stress laid upon it.

The following are some of the proposed translations of Sati:—

Conscience,	Spence Hardy, 'Manual,' 412.
Attention,	Spence Hardy, 'Manual,' 497.
Meditation,	Gogerly, 'Ceylon Buddhism,' 584.
"	Childers, 'Dictionary.' ²
Memory,	Oldenberg, 'Vinaya Texts,' I, 96.
"	E. Hardy, 'Buddha,' 40.

¹ See Mrs. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Psychology,' p. 16, note 1. and note 1 above on Vol. I, p. 81.

² He renders *kāyagatā sati*, where the word occurs in its technical sense, as 'meditation on the body.' He has other renderings for popular usage.

Contemplation,	Warren, 'Buddhism in Translations,' 353.
Insight,	Neumann, 'Majjhima,' I, 85.
Thought,	Pischel, 'Buddha,' 28.
"	Oldenberg, 'Buddha' (English translation), 128.

The other word in the compound that gives the title to this Suttanta is *Paṭṭhāna*—which would mean etymologically 'putting forward, setting forth.' It does not occur in pre-Buddhistic literature. It has not been yet found in the Nikāyas in its concrete, primary, sense; or in any connexion except this. Buddhaghosa here paraphrases it, exegetically only, by *gocara*, which is the feeding-ground, resort, of an animal. The mediaeval use of the word (in its Sanskrit form) was in the sense of starting off, going away, departure. It is the title of the most often quoted book in the Abhidhamma, and there means probably Origins, Starting-points, as it gives under twenty-four categories the *paccayas* (causes) of phenomena. In one passage of a fifth-century commentator (*Jāt. I, 78.^b*) the Abhidhamma Piṭaka as a whole is said to be *samantapaṭṭhāna*, 'having (or giving) the settings-on-foot, the points of departure, of all things.' Childers gives the word as a neuter. It is masculine throughout our Suttanta. But he analyses the compound (*sub voce upaṭṭhānam*), not into *Sati+paṭṭhāna*, but into *Sati+upaṭṭhāna*. This is a possible contraction, and Buddhaghosa gives it as an alternative explanation which he does not adopt. Had we adopted it, the rendering of the title would have been 'The getting-ready of Mindfulness.' Neumann renders it 'Pillars of Insight,' and Warren 'Intent Contemplations.' Neither of these is much more than a distant cousin of the Pāli.

It is not easy at first sight to understand the choice of just those four fields or areas (comp. *paṭṭhānā=thānā=gocārā*), to which, in this Suttanta, 'mindfulness' is to be applied, or in respect to which it is to be set up. We need ourselves to be mindful, lest, in interpreting them, we follow too closely European points of view. In trying to avoid this danger, we do not consider our choice of terms leaves nothing to be desired, or to be explained.

The ethical desirableness of *Sati*, as the instrument most efficacious in self-mastery, lay in the steady alertness of inward vision which it connoted, whether past or present experience was contemplated. In discussing it, the Buddhist was concerned, not with the outer world as such, but with the microcosm of his subjective experience, and with the vehicles thereof—sense and mind. These he is here represented as considering under the fourfold aspect of—

- (1) *kâya*, physical structure and activities.
- (2) *vedanâ*, the emotional nature, first as bare feeling, then as having ethical implications.
- (3) *citta*, conscious life, consciousness or intelligence, considered under ethical aspects.
- (4) *dhammâ*, with its subdivisions—
 - (a) the Five Hindrances.
 - (b) the Five Groups.
 - (c) the Six Spheres of Sense.
 - (d) the seven Factors of Enlightenment.
 - (e) the four Aryan Truths.

Now it is always difficult to make any English term coincide with either *dhamma* or *dhammâ*. Here, as elsewhere in Buddhist diction, it is chiefly the context that must be the guide to meaning. The Suttanta is a discipline—the supreme discipline—in ethical introspection. And in Buddhist introspective analysis, *dhammâ* (elsewhere translatable now by 'things,' now by 'qualities') are, more especially, 'cognoscible objects.' These are related to *mano* (consciousness as apprehending), just as each kind of sense-object is related to one kind of sense-organ; thing-seen, for example, to sight. A cognoscible object is any presentation (German, *Vorstellung*), that has got beyond the stage of mere sensory re-action. It is an idea or perception in the wider sense used by Locke:—'Whatsoever is the immediate object of perception, thought, or understanding.' But neither cognoscible object, nor presentation, is a term which lends itself with sufficient simplicity and impressiveness to ethical homily. We have therefore decided to perpetuate the Lockean 'idea.'

For the same reason we use 'thought' for *citta*, in preference to a term of more psychological precision; and we understand by 'thought', thinking, or knowing, or being intelligently conscious, and do not restrict the word to any special mode of cognition.

Hence we get this distinction of aspects in (3) and (4): under *citta*, the ever-changing ever-active continuance of consciousness, or re-acting intelligence; under *dhammâ*, those same activities considered objectively, as concrete states, procedure, 'content of consciousness,' as the psychologists phrase it. Under (3) we watch the agency as a whole, in its chameleon-like phases. Under (4) we take transverse cuttings, so to speak, of our subjective experience.

It is interesting to note that Buddhaghosa, explaining the inclusion, under No. 4, of the Six Senses and the fivefold *Khandha* doctrine, says:—'in contemplation of the body the Exalted One taught only the grasp of matter, in contemplation

of feeling and consciousness, only the grasp of the immaterial. Now in order to teach grasp of matter and the immaterial mixed (*rûpârûpamissakapariggaho*), he' spoke of *dhammâ*. And again: 'grasp of the *rûpa-khandâ* being taught by contemplation of body, and grasp of the *khandhas* of feeling and *viññâna* (cognition or consciousness) by contemplation of feeling and *citta*, He now, to teach grasp of the *khandhas* of perception and *sankhâra* (let us say, volition and other mental factors) went on' to speak of *dhammâ*.

[XXII. MAHĀSATIPATTHĀNA SUTTANTA.]

SETTING-UP OF MINDFULNESS.]

[290] Thus have I heard.

1. The Exalted One was once staying among the Kurus. Kammāssadhamma is a city of the Kuru country. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, saying, 'Bhikkhus!' 'Reverend sir!' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One said :

The one and only path, Bhikkhus leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying-out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method¹, to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Fourfold Setting up of Mindfulness.²

Which are the Four? Herein³, O bhikkhus, let a brother, as to the body, continue so to look upon the body that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts, and ideas, let him so look upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

¹ *Ñāya*. Practical Buddhism is summed up (*Majjhima* II, 182, 197) as exertion in *ñāya*, *dhamma*, and *kusala* (the Method, the Norm, and the Good). *Ñāya* is defined at *Samyutta* V, 388 as what comes pretty much to our method in philosophy. Above (p. 167) it is rendered System. There, in a very old verse, the Buddha says that seeking after Good he had been a pilgrim through the realm of System and Law, outside of which no victory can be won.

² See Introduction.

³ The commentarial tradition sees in this word *idha*, the implication of 'belonging to this order or doctrine or school' (*imasmim sāsane*), and thus an antithesis to '*ito bahiddhā*,' outside this [order] —an expression which occurs immediately after the verse mentioned in the last note.

2. [291] And how, bhikkhus, does a brother so continue to consider the body?

¹ Herein, O bhikkhus, let a brother, going into the forest, or to the roots of a tree, or to an empty chamber, sit down cross-legged, holding the body erect, and set his mindfulness alert ².

Mindful let him inhale, mindful let him exhale. Whether he inhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof; or whether he exhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof. Whether he inhale a short breath, or exhale a short breath, let him be conscious thereof. Let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I inhale'; let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I exhale.' Let him practise with the thought 'I will inhale tranquillizing my bodily organism; let him practise with the thought 'I will exhale tranquillizing my bodily organism.'

Even as a skilful turner, or turner's apprentice, drawing (his string) out at length, or drawing it out short, is conscious that he is doing one or the other, so let a brother practise inhaling and exhaling.

[292] So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world

¹ Quoted *Pañisambhidâ* I, 175, and 'Yogâvacara Manual,' p. 1. Each quotation gives a word for word commentary; and so does *Sum.* I, 210.

² *Parimukham satim upaṭṭhapati*, literally, 'set up his memory in face of (the object of his thought)'. The ultimate object is throughout, as the 'Yogâvacara Manual' says, Nirvana. Examples of the subsidiary, changing, objects of thought are given in what follows.

whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

3. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, when he is walking, is aware of it thus:—‘I walk’; or when he is standing, or sitting, or lying down, he is aware of it. However he is disposing the body, he is aware thereof.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that ‘There is the body,’ mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

4. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother—whether he departs or returns, whether he looks at or looks away from, whether he has drawn in or stretched out [his limbs], whether he has donned under-robe, over-robe, or bowl, whether he is eating, drinking, chewing, reposing, or whether he is obeying the calls of nature—is aware of what he is about. In going, standing, sitting, sleeping, watching, talking, or keeping silence, he knows what he is doing.

[298] So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that ‘There is the body,’ mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to consider the body.

5. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon this very body, from the soles of his feet below upward to the crown of his head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers impurities :—‘ Here is in this body hair and down, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, membranes, spleen, lungs, stomach, bowels, intestines ; excrement, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, synovial fluid, urine.’

Just as if there were a double-mouthed sample-bag¹, bhikkhus, full of various sorts of grain, such as rice, paddy, beans, vetches, sesamum or rice husked for boiling ; and a keen-eyed man were to reflect as he poured them out :—‘ That’s rice, that’s paddy, those are beans,’ and so forth. Even so, bhikkhus, does a brother reflect upon the body, from the soles of the feet below upward to the crown of the head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers impurities.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that ‘ There is the body,’ mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

6. [294] And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon this very body, however it be placed or disposed, with respect to its fundamentals :—‘ There are in this body the four primary elements of earth, water, heat,

¹ Mutoli. Buddhaghosa has no explanation. But Dhammapala says *mallak pasumbiyak*, that is, a small bag, such as is used by grain merchants for keeping samples in. The particular kind meant is kept tied up with string at both ends, and either end can be opened. The word only occurs in this connexion (here, and at M. I, 57 ; III, 90). The spelling of the word is uncertain.

and air.' Just as a cattle-butcher, or his apprentice, when he has slain an ox, displays the carcase piece-meal at the crossways as he sits, even so, bhikkhus, does a brother reflect upon this very body . . . with respect to its fundamental constituents . . .

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that ' There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

7. [295] And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, dead for one, two, or three days, swollen, turning black and blue, and decomposed, applies that perception to this very body (of his own), reflecting : ' This body, too, is even so constituted, is of even such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that ' There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

8. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field pecked by crows, ravens, or vultures, gnawn by dogs or jackals or by various small creatures, applies that perception

to this very body (of his own), reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

[296] So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

9. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field [reduced to] a chain of bones hanging together by tendons, with flesh and blood yet about it, or stripped of flesh but yet spotted with blood; or cleaned of both flesh and blood; or reduced to bare bones, loosed from tendons, scattered here and there, so that the bones of a hand lie in one direction, in another the bones of a foot, in another those of a leg, in another a thigh bone, in another the pelvis, in another [297] the spinal vertebrae, in another the skull, applies that perception to this very body (of his own) reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent,

grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

10. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, [reduced to] white bones the colour of a sea-shell . . . or to a mere heap of bones a year old . . . or to rotten powder, this perception does he apply to this very body (of his own) reflecting :—‘ This body too is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).’

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that ‘ There is the body.’ [298] and mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the body, continue to consider the body.

11. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the feelings, continue to consider the feelings?

Herein, O bhikkhus, is a brother when affected by a feeling of pleasure, aware of it, reflecting : ‘ I feel a pleasurable feeling.’ So, too, is he aware when affected by a painful feeling, or by a neutral feeling, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning material things, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning spiritual things.

So does he, as to the feelings, continue to consider feeling, both internally and externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how the feelings are something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the feelings are something that passes away, or he [299] keeps on considering their coming to be with their passing away. Or again, with the consciousness : ‘ There is feeling,’

mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to the feelings, continue to consider feeling.

12. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to thought, continue to consider thought¹?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if his thought be lustful, is aware that it is so, or if his thought be free from lust, is aware that it is so; or if his thought be full of hate, or free from hate, or dull, or intelligent, or attentive, or distraight, or exalted, or not exalted, or mediocre, or ideal, or composed, or discomposed, or liberated, or bound, he is aware in each case that his thought is so, reflecting: 'My thought is lustful,' and so on.

So does he, as to thought, continue to consider thought, internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how thought is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how a thought is something that passes away, or again he ever considers its coming to be and passing away together. Or again, with the consciousness: 'There is a thought,' mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established, [300] far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to thought, continue to consider thought.

13. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas², continue to consider ideas?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues

¹ Citta. The reader is reminded that 'thought' is used here for citta in the widest sense possible to that term, such as is intended when, in the Christian tradition, it is made to complement the 'word and deed' of the Epistles. And as such it is 'thinking' rather than 'what is thought,' that should be understood.

² Dhammâ. See Introduction.

to consider ideas from the point of view of the Five Hindrances¹.

And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas relating to the Five Hindrances¹?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, when within him is sensuous desire, is aware of it, reflecting: 'I have within me sensuous desire.' Or again, when within him is no sensuous desire, he is aware of this. And he knows of the uprising of such desire unfelt before, knows too of his putting aside that uprisen sensuous desire, knows too of the non-arising in future of that banished sensuous desire.

[The paragraph is repeated [301] of ill-will, sloth and torpor, flurry and worry, and doubt.]

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider them, both internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He ever considers how an idea is a thing that comes to be, again he ever considers how an idea is a thing that passes away, or he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away; or again, with the consciousness: 'There is such and such an idea,' mindfulness thereof is thereby established, far enough for purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to dispositions, continue to consider dispositions in the case of the Five Hindrances.

14. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider these from the point of view of the Five Skandhas of Grasping. And how, bhikkhus, does he so consider them?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother reflects: 'Such is material form, such is its genesis, such its passing away; such is feeling—perception—the mental activities—such is cognition, its genesis, its passing away.

So does he, as to dispositions, continue to consider them, [302] . . .

¹ Literally, 'in the Five Hindrances.'

15. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense. And how does he do this?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother is aware of the organ of sight, is aware of the objects of sight, and any Fetter which arises on account of them both—of that, too, is he aware; and how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before—of that, too, is he aware; and how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen—of that, too, is he aware; and how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside—of that, too, is he aware.

And so, too, with respect to the organ of hearing and sounds, to the organ of smell and odours, to the organ of taste and tastes, to the organ of touch and tangibles, to the sensorium and images, he is aware of the sense and of the object, of any Fetter which arises on account of both, of how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before, of how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen, and of how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas, from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense. [303]

16. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas, with respect to the Seven Factors of Enlightenment. And how does he do this?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if there be present to him subjectively mindfulness as a factor of enlightenment, is aware that it is present. Or if it be absent, he is subjectively aware of its absence. And how there comes an uprising of such mindfulness not hitherto arisen—of that, too, is he aware; and how there comes a full development of such mindfulness when it has arisen—of that too is he aware. And so too with respect to the other subjective factors of enlightenment:—search the truth, energy, joy, serenity, rapture, equanimity—he is aware if they are subjectively present, or absent, and he is aware of how there

comes an uprising of any factor not hitherto uprisen, and of how there comes a full development of such factors when it has arisen.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas from the point of view of the Seven Factors of Enlightenment. [304]

17. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Four Aryan Truths. And how does he do this?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother at the thought: 'This is Ill!' is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: 'This is the coming to be of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: 'This is the cessation of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: 'This is the way leading to the cessation of Ill!' is aware of it as it really is.

18¹. [305] And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan truth [regarding] Ill?

Birth is painful, old age is painful², death is painful, grief, lamentation, suffering, misery and despair are painful, painful is it not to get what is wished for, in

¹ What follows (down to the line and space on p. 345) is not found in the Majjhima recension of the Satipa//hāna (M. I, 55 ff.). Except for this the two recensions agree, and ours here is doubtless called the Mahā-satipa//hāna, precisely because, to that extent, it is longer. That would show that when that title was first used the Majjhima recension was already known. It would not follow that the Dīgha is younger than the Majjhima; they may have been edited at the same time from older material.

The Dīgha addition is interesting as containing a fragment of Old Commentary (as old as the texts) of which other fragments are found in the Nikāyas, and also in the Vinaya.

The Vibhanga (99–106) quotes this Dīgha addition verbatim.

² Many MSS. and the Colombo edition of 1876 add 'disease is painful.' But this is not mentioned in the word-for-word commentary that follows. It is probably transferred as a gloss from the Saṃyutta recension of the Four Truths (S. V, 421) which differs slightly from that of the repeaters of the Dīgha (the Dīgha-bhāṇakā).

a word, the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are connected with pain¹.

And what, bhikkhus, is birth? Birth is the production, the outcome², the rising up in a new form, the appearance of the Groups, the acquisition of sense-spheres, by this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called birth.

And what, bhikkhus, is growing old³? Growing old is the decay, the decrepitude, the breaking-up, the hoariness, the wrinkled state, the shrinkage of life's span, the collapse⁴ of the sense-faculties of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called growing old.

And what, bhikkhus, is dying?

Dying is the fall (out of any state), the dropping out of it, the dissolution, the disappearance, the death, the dying, the accomplishment of the life-term, the breaking up of the Groups, the laying down of the body of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is called dying.

And what, bhikkhus, is grief?

Grieving is the state of woe, heart ache, and affliction. The inward grief, the hidden wretchedness, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. [306] This is what is called grief.

And what, bhikkhus, is lamenting?

¹ Pañc' upādānakkhandhā. The Groups are the five groups of material and mental qualities that form, in combination brought about by grasping, an individual. One might, therefore, express this central thought of the first Aryan truth in modern Western language by saying that pain is involved in individuality—a most pregnant and far reaching suggestion. The rest of the Truth is merely a statement of facts universally admitted.

² Sañjāti only found elsewhere as yet Dīgha I, 227, where it means the produce arising out of an estate and accruing to the landlord.

³ Cf. Dh. S. and Bud. Psy. on rūpassa jaratā (§ 644).

⁴ Paripāka, which in all other passages means maturity, must here mean over-ripeness, loss of power through having reached their full vigour and begun to give out.

Lamenting is the act and the state of mourning, lamentation, deploring, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called lamenting.

And what, bhikkhus, is suffering?

Suffering is bodily ill, bodily pain, ill that is born of bodily contact, the being bodily affected by what is painful. This is what is called suffering.

And what, bhikkhus, is misery?

Misery is mental ill, mental pain, ill that is born of mental contact, the being mentally affected by what is painful. This is what is called misery.

And what, bhikkhus, is despair?

Despair is the act and state of dejection, of despondency, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called despair.

[307] And what, bhikkhus, is the ill of not getting what is wished for?

In beings subject to birth the wish arises:—‘Ah! if only we were not subject to birth, if only we could avoid being born!’ But this is not to be got by wishing. This is the ill of not getting what is wished for. So too in the case of growing old, falling ill, dying, grieving, lamenting, suffering, being in misery and in despair, in being subject to these the wish arises:—‘Ah! if only we were not subject to this one or that one of those things! If only we could avoid them!’ But this cannot be had for the wishing. This again is the ill of not getting what is wished for.

And what, bhikkhus, is ‘in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping’? These are the Groups of material form, of feeling, of perception, of dispositions, and of cognition that arise from grasping. This is what is called ‘in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are associated with Ill.’

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth regarding Ill.

19. [308] And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill?

Even this Craving, potent for rebirth, that is accom-

panied by lust and self-indulgence, seeking satisfaction now here now there, to wit, the craving for the life of sense, the craving for becoming (renewed life), and the craving for not becoming (for no rebirth) ¹.

Now this Craving, bhikkhus, where does it take its rise, where does it have its dwelling? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Things seen, things heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. [309] There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the

¹ Vibhava. This word usually means power, prosperity, success—the prefix *vi* being used as an intensive particle. In this particular connexion the traditional interpretation takes the prefix in a negative sense, and paraphrases the word by ‘the absence of becoming (bhava).’ This view is apparently supported by some Nikāya passages (S. III, 57; It. no. 49), and by the *Dhamma Saṃgaṇī* 1314. But it may be derived from them; and it is odd that the word should have been found nowhere else in that sense. It is quite possible that the original sense was the usual one. At Dh. 28a it seems to mean decline in wisdom.

auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted, touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. And there does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

[310] This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill.

20. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill?

The utter cessation of and disenchantment about that very Craving, giving it up, renouncing it, emancipation from it, detachment from it.

But now this Craving, bhikkhus, where, in being put away, is it put away; where, in ceasing, does it cease? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant—there may this Craving be put away, there does it cease.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Things seen, things heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. [311] Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted,

touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may Craving be put away, here does it cease.

This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill.

21. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way that leads to the Cessation of Ill?

This is that Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right view, right aspiration, right speech, right doing, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

And what, bhikkhus, is right view? [312]

Knowledge, bhikkhus, about Ill, knowledge about the coming to be of Ill, knowledge about the cessation of Ill, knowledge about the Way that leads to the cessation of Ill. This is what is called right view.

And what, bhikkhus, is right aspiration?

The aspiration towards renunciation¹, the aspiration

¹ Nekkhamma. Burnouf ('Lotus,' 334) derives this word from *nis+karma*; Oldenberg ('Vinaya Texts,' I, 104) from *nis+kāma*, and Childers (*sub voce*) from *nis+kramya*. These three derivations would give the meaning respectively as having no Karma, being devoid of lust, and going forth from home. Dhammapāla explains it here as meaning either the second or the third. No doubt

towards benevolence, the aspiration towards kindness. This is what is called right aspiration.

And what, bhikkhus, is right speech ?

Abstaining from lying, slander, abuse and idle talk. This is what is called right speech.

And what, bhikkhus, is right doing ?

Abstaining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from carnal indulgence. This is what is called right doing.

And what, bhikkhus, is right livelihood ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, the Aryan disciple having put away wrong livelihood, supports himself by right livelihood.

And what, bhikkhus, is right effort ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother makes effort in bringing forth will that evil and bad states that have not arisen within him may not arise, to that end he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That he may put away evil and bad states that have arisen within him he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have not arisen may arise he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have arisen may persist, may not grow blurred, may multiply, grow abundant, develop and come to perfection, he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. This is what is called right effort.

And what, bhikkhus, is right mindfulness ? [313]

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to the body, continues so to look upon the body, that he remains ardent,

Oldenberg is right as to the derivation. But Daraniipola is also right if we take his note as exegetical, not philological. The fact is that the derivation had been, from very early times, forgotten or confused; and the connotation of the word was renunciation generally, with special reference to these two kinds. It never had anything to do with Karma.

The three aspirations of our paragraph here recur at *Samyutta* II, 152, and on p. 151 *nekkhamma* is replaced by *kāma*. See also *It. no. 72*, and *M. I.*, 114.

self-possessed and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts and ideas, he so looks upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome the hankering and the dejection that is common in the world. This is what is called right mindfulness.

And what, bhikkhus, is right rapture ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, aloof from sensuous appetites, aloof from evil ideas, enters into and abides in the First Jhâna, wherein there is cogitation and deliberation, which is born of solitude and is full of joy and ease. Suppressing cogitation and deliberation, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhâna, which is self-evoked, born of concentration, full of joy and ease, in that, set free from cogitation and deliberation, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high. And further, disenchanted with joy, he abides calmly contemplative while, mindful and self-possessed, he feels in his body that ease whereof Aryans declare 'He that is calmly contemplative and aware, he dwelleth at ease.' So does he enter into and abide in the Third Jhâna. And further, by putting aside ease and by putting aside mal-aise, by the passing away of the happiness and of the melancholy he used to feel, he enters into and abides in the Fourth Jhâna, rapture of utter purity of mindfulness and equanimity, wherein neither ease is felt nor any ill. This is what is called right rapture.

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way leading to the cessation of Ill. [314]

So does he, with respect to ideas continue to consider ideas, both internally, or externally; or internally and externally together. He ever considers how ideas are something that comes to be, again he ever considers how they are something that passes away, or again he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away; or again with the consciousness 'There are ideas,' mindfulness thereof is thereby established,

far enough for purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to ideas, continue to consider ideas with respect to the Four Aryan Truths.

22. Bhikkhus! whoso shall thus practise these Four Applications of Mindfulness for seven years, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for:—either in this present life The Knowledge¹, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or, not to speak of seven years, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six years, for five only, for four only, for three only, for two only, for one year only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for: either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of one year, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six months, or for five months, for four only, or three, or two, or one month only, [315] or half a month only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for: either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of half a month, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for seven days, in him one of two kinds of fruition may be looked for: either in this present life The Knowledge, or if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. It was on account of this that that was said which was said (at the beginning) ‘The one and only path, bhikkhus, leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method, to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Four-fold Setting-up of Starting.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased were the brethren, delighting in that which was spoken by the Exalted One.

¹ *Aññā*; one of the many epithets of Arahantship.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PĀYĀSI SUTTANTA.

THIS Dialogue is one of the few which refer to events that took place in the Community after the Buddha's death. We hear from Dhammapāla (in his commentary on the 'Vimāna Vatthu,' p. 297) that the Dialogue was believed, when he wrote (that is, at Kāñcīpura in South India in the fifth century) to have taken place after the erection of the cairns (thūpas) over the ashes of the Teacher. He does not say how long after; and the length of the interval is not very important, for all the Dialogues were put together more than fifty years at least after the Buddha's death¹. The difference is only this, that whereas the Dialogues in which the principal part is ascribed to the Buddha himself may well, and very often undoubtedly do, contain material much older than the date of the redaction of the Dīgha, this Suttanta (and that is also true of the few others that fall into the same category) may not. The difference is not great.

In this particular case we find nothing fresh in the Suttanta. The climax, led up to at the end, shows us a messenger from the gods coming down from heaven to teach the doctrine of generosity (dāna) by laymen. We have discussed above in the Introduction to the 'Mahā-govinda Suttanta' (p. 254) the reasons which induced ancient authors to bring down a divinity from heaven to support any particular opinion. Why was it done here? It seems scarcely necessary.

True, the doctrine does not occupy a very high position in the earliest documents. It does not appear at all in the thirty-seven points (afterwards called the Bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammā) in which the Buddha, just before his death, summed up his teaching².

¹ See the general Introduction to the 'Dialogues,' I, 19.

² See above, pp. 128-30. The Wings of Wisdom are really only thirty, not thirty-seven, as seven of them are repeated. So there was plenty of room, had it been wanted, for charity. The Aryan Path is in the list. But the Path, though open to laymen and lay-women, contains no mention of dāna.

It does not appear in the Dhammapada, an anthology of verses current in the Community on twenty-six subjects which the makers of the anthology held of most importance. There is a miscellaneous section into which verses on charity might well have been introduced, had it been considered a point of equal value with the rest; but it is not there. It is the first and lowest in the list of the ten Pāramitās, the virtues necessary to the attainment of Buddhahood¹. But this list is a late one, and is not found in the Four Nikāyas, or even in the Vinaya.

On the other hand there are several incidental references to giving in charity, and always by way of approval, in the Dialogues and the Samyutta. And in the Anguttara (which contains a good deal more of the milk for babes than the other three of the great Nikāyas)² there is a special Dāna Vagga with seven short Suttas on the subject, and six or seven more are scattered through the work³.

It is clear therefore, though this particular virtue is ranked after the thirty Wings of Wisdom, that it is accorded, in the earliest Buddhism, a very respectable place. Nevertheless at this particular juncture, when the death of their Master had weakened the prestige of the Order, it is quite possible that the brethren, finding their numbers in excess of the sources of income and support, should have found it advisable to invoke the help of a *deus ex machina* to set the discrepancy right.

The rest of the Suttanta throws some light on the reputation in which Kassapa, the Boy-Wanderer, was held by his fellows. As becomes a flowery speaker (*citra-kathi*) he is lavish in illustration, and tells a number of stories, some of them quite good, and all of them bearing more or less relation (usually less) to the particular point in dispute. They are sufficient, however, to throw dust into the eyes of Pāyāsi, whose arguments, futile as they are, do not depend so exclusively on analogy, that most misleading of guides.

¹ The scholastics, by dividing each of the ten into three (see Childers, *sub voce*), have brought the number up to thirty, the same as the real number of the more ancient Wings of Wisdom, to which this later list is meant as a counterblast or rival.

² Compare Mrs. Rhys Davids's remarks in the Introduction to vol. VI.

³ See Miss Hunt's 'Indexes,' under Dāna.

[XXIII. PÂYÂSI SUTTANTA.

REBIRTH AND KARMA.]

[316] Thus have I heard.

1. The venerable Kumâra Kassapa¹ was once walking on tour in Kosala together with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, and coming to the Kosalese city named Setavyâ, he there abode. And there the venerable Kumâra Kassapa dwelt to the north of Setavyâ, in the Simsapâ-tree Grove. Now at that time the chieftain Pâyâsi was residing at Setavyâ, a spot teeming with life, with much grass-land and wood-land, with water and corn, on a royal domain granted him by King Pasenadi of Kosala, as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king².

2. Now at that time there came over Pâyâsi an evil view of things to this effect :—' Neither is there any other world, nor are there beings reborn otherwise than from parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done.'

[317] Now the brahmins and householders of Setavyâ heard the news :—' They say that the wanderer Master Kassapa, disciple of the wanderer Gotama, walking on tour with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, has arrived at Setavyâ and is staying there to the north of the town, in the

¹ The touching story of his birth is told in the Introductory Story to the twelfth Jâtaka, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 199 ff. He was declared by the Buddha to be the best of the preachers in the Order (A. I, 24). Kumâra was a nickname, 'The Boy' (because he was ordained so young), which distinguished him from the other Kassapas in the Order, and clung to him even in advanced years. It was the more appropriate, as kumâra means a boy of good family, a young gentleman, a master; and Kassapa, the son of a clansman, had been brought up at Pasenadi's court.

² See Vol. I, p. 108, note 1.

Simsapā-tree Grove. Now regarding that Master Kassapa, such is the excellent reputation that has been raised abroad :—‘ Wise and expert is he, abounding in knowledge and learning, eloquent and excellent in discourse, venerable too and an Arahant. And good is it to interview Arahants like him.’ Then the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, coming out from the town in companies and bands from each district so that they could be counted¹, went by the north gate, to the *Simsapā*-tree Grove.

3. Now at that time Pāyāsi, the chieftain, had gone apart to the upper terrace of his house for siesta. And seeing the people thus go by he said to his doorkeeper :— ‘ Why are the people of Setavyā going forth like this towards the *Simsapā*-tree Grove ? ’ [318] Then the doorkeeper told him the news. And he said :— ‘ Then, good doorkeeper, go to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā and say to them :—“ Pāyāsi, sirs, bids you wait ; he will come himself to see the Wanderer Master Kassapa.” That Boy Kassapa will be winning over at the outset those foolish and inexperienced brahmins and householders of Setavyā to think :— “ There is both another world and there are beings who are born not of parents, and there is fruit, and result of deeds well done and ill done.” But, my good doorkeeper, these three things do not exist.’

‘ Even so, sir,’ said the doorkeeper, and carried out his master’s bidding.

4. So Pāyāsi, the chieftain, surrounded by the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, came to the *Simsapā*-tree Grove, and finding the venerable Kassapa, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took his seat on one side. [319] And as to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, some of them bowed before the venerable Kassapa and took their seats on one side ; some of them exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy and then took their

¹ The expression is somewhat ambiguous. See the note on I, 145.

seats on one side; some of them saluted him with joined hands and took their seats on one side; some of them called out their name and family and did likewise, some of them took their seats on one side in silence.

5. And when he was seated Pâyâsi spoke thus to the venerable Master Kassapa:—

‘I, Master Kassapa, am of this opinion, of these views:—Neither is there another world, nor are there beings reborn not of parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done.’

‘I, Prince, have neither seen or heard of any one holding such a view, such an opinion. How then can you declare, as you do, that “there neither is another world, nor rebirth as inheritor of the highest heavens, nor fruit or result of deeds well-done or ill-done”? Wherefore, Prince, I will cross-question you herein, and do you reply in what way you may approve. What think you, yon moon and sun, are they in this world or in another world, are they divine or human?’

‘This moon and sun, Master Kassapa, are in another world, not in this, they are gods, not human.’

‘Then, Prince, let this be taken as evidence that there is both another world, and rebirth as inheritor of the highest heavens, and fruit and result of deeds done well or ill.’

6. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you, Prince, any proof to establish that they do not exist?’

[320] ‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, relatives, men of the same blood as myself, who have taken life, committed thefts, or fornication, have uttered lying, slanderous, abusive, gossiping speech, have been covetous, of malign thoughts, of evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and

said :—" According to the views and opinion held, sirs, by certain wanderers and brahmins, they who break the precepts of morality, when the body breaks up after death, are reborn into the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Fallen Place, the Pit. Now you, sirs, have broken those precepts. If what those reverent wanderers and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, come to me and tell me, saying :—"There is another world, there is rebirth not of parents, there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done." You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it." They have consented to do this, saying, "Very good," [321] but they have neither come themselves, nor dispatched a messenger. Now this, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth not by human parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well done and ill.'

7. 'Well then, prince, I will yet ask you this, and do you answer even as you think fit. What think you? Take the case of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up saying :—"My lord, this felon was caught in the act; inflict what penalty you wish." He replies :—"Well then, sirs, bind this man securely, his arms behind him, with a strong cord; shave his head; lead him around, to the sound of a sharp drum, from street to street, from cross-road to cross-road, and out at the southern gate; there, south of the town in the place of execution, cut off his head." They, assenting with "Very good," proceed to carry out these orders, and, in the place of execution, make him sit down. Now would the felon gain permission of this sort from his executioners: "Let my masters, the executioners, wait till I have visited my friends and advisers, my kinsmen by blood, in this or that village or town, and come back"? [322] Or would the executioners cut off the head of this vain talker?'

'They would not grant the permission, Master Kassapa; they would cut off his head.'

'But this felon, prince, is human and cannot get leave from human executioners. How much less then would your friends and relatives, after death, in the Pit, gain permission from the keepers of the Pit, saying:—"Let my masters, the Pit-keepers, wait till we have gone and told the chieftain Pâyâsi, that there is both another world and rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill?" Be this exposition a proof to you, Prince, that these things exist.'

8. 'Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you, prince, any further proof to establish that they do not exist?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how?'

[323] 'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends and companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who have abstained from taking life, from committing thefts, or fornication, from lying, slandering, rude, or frivolous speech, who have not coveted, or had malign thoughts or evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and said: "According, sirs, to the views and opinions held by some Wanderers and Brahmins, they who keep the precepts of morality, when the body breaks up, are after death reborn into the bright and happy world. Now you, sirs, have kept those precepts. If what those reverend samanas and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, when you have been there reborn, come to me and let me know that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it." They have consented to do this, saying "Very good"; but they have not come and let me know, nor have

they dispatched a messenger. Now this again, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that [324] there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parentage, nor fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.

9. 'Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by a simile some intelligent persons will recognize the meaning of what is said. Just as if a man were plunged head-under in a pit of mire. And you were to order men saying :—"Well now, masters, pull the man out of that pit." They, saying "Very good," were to comply and pull him out. You were then to say to them :—"Well now, masters, brush the mire smearing him from off his body with split bamboo¹." And they were to obey you. And you were to say to them :—"Well now, masters, shampoo this man's body a treble massage with yellow shampoo powder." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Now, masters, rub him with oil, and bathe him three times using fine chunam." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Well, masters, now dress his hair²." And they were to do so. [325] And you were to say to them :—"Now, masters, deck him with a costly garland and costly unguent and costly garments." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Well, masters, take him up on to the palace and amuse him with the pleasures of the five senses." And they were to do so. Now what think you, O chieftain? Would this man, well bathed, well anointed, shaved and combed, dressed, wreathed and adorned, clad in clean raiment, taken to the upper palace, and indulging in, surrounded by, treated to, the five pleasures of sense, be desirous of being plunged once more into that pit of mire?'

'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

¹ No doubt a sort of brush made of split bamboo.

² How elaborate were the coiffures used by men at this date may be seen from the illustration in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 97.

‘And why?’

‘Foul, Master Kassapa, is a pit of mire, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such.’

‘Even so, Prince, are human beings in the eyes of the gods, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such. The smell of man offends the gods a hundred leagues away. What then? Shall your friends and companions, your kinsmen and connexions who, having kept the precepts, are reborn into the bright and happy place, come and bring you word that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than by parentage, [326] that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done? Let this exposition, chieftain, be evidence to you that these things exist.’

10. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you any further evidence, prince?’ . . .

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who kept the precepts, abstaining from taking life; from taking what was not given, from in chastity, lying speech and strong intoxicating liquors. They anon have fallen mortally ill; and I, having told them how some samāṇas and brahmins say that, after such a life, one would be reborn in the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods, have asked them, if they were so reborn, to come and let me know that there was another world, birth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. [327] They have promised to do so, but they have neither come and told me, nor sent a messenger. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that not one of those things exists.’

11. ‘Well then, Prince, I will reply by asking you something, and do you answer as you think fit. That which, humanly speaking, is a century, this to the

Three-and-Thirty Gods is one night and day. Of such a night thirty nights are the month—of such a month twelve months are the year—of such a year the celestial thousand years are the life-span of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. Those of whom you now speak will have attained rebirth into the communion of these Gods. If it should occur to them thus:—“Let us for two or three days indulge ourselves, surrounded by and steeped in the five pleasures of sense, and thereafter let us go and tell the chieftain Pāyāsi that there is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done”—would they then have come to you, and told you so?’

‘Certainly not, Master Kassapa; for we should have been dead long before. But who lets Master Kassapa know all these things:—that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-and-Thirty Gods live so many years? We do not believe him when he says these things.’ [328]

‘That, Prince, is just as if there were a man born blind who could not see objects as dark or bright, as blue, yellow, red or brown; who could not see things as smooth or rough, nor the stars, nor moon, nor sun. And he were to say:—“There are none of these things, nor any one capable of seeing them. I don’t know them, I don’t see them; therefore they don’t exist.” Would one so speaking, speak rightly, Prince?’

‘Not so, Master Kassapa. The visual objects of which you speak do exist, and so does the faculty of seeing them. [329] To say “I don’t know them, I don’t see them; therefore they don’t exist”: that would not be speaking rightly.’

‘But even so, methinks, do you, Prince, talk like the blind man in my parable when you say:—“But who lets Master Kassapa know that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-and-Thirty Gods live so many years? We do not believe him when he says these things.” For, Prince, the other world is not, as you imagine, to be regarded with this fleshly eye.

Those Wanderers and Brahmins who haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, they there abiding strenuous, ardent, aloof, purify the eye divine; they by that purified eye divine, passing the vision of men, see both this world and that other world, and beings reborn not of parents. In this way, Prince, is the other world to be seen; and not, even as you imagine, by this fleshly eye. Let this be a proof to you that there is another world, that there are beings reborn not of parents, that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.'

12. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, [330] yet it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I see Wanderers and Brahmins moral and of virtuous dispositions, fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, shrinking from sorrow. Then I think, Master Kassapa:—"If these good Wanderers and Brahmins were to know this—"When once we are dead we shall be better off"—then these good men would take poison, or stab themselves, or put an end to themselves by hanging, or throw themselves from precipices. And it is because they do not know that, once dead, they will be better off, that they are fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, disinclined for sorrow. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is no other world, no beings reborn otherwise than of parents, no fruit and no result of deeds well and ill-done.'

13. 'Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, there was a brahmin who had two wives. By one he had a son, ten or twelve years of age; the other was pregnant and near her time. Then the brahmin died. Now the boy said to his mother's co-wife:—

"Whatever treasure there is, lady, or grain, or silver, or gold, all that is mine. [331] There is nothing here for you whatever; make over to me, lady, the heritage of my father!" Then the brahminee made answer to him:—"Wait, my lad, till my child is born. If 'twill be a boy, one portion shall be his; if a girl, she shall wait on you."

'But the boy reiterated his claim again and yet again. Then the brahminee, taking a sword, entered an inner room and ripped up her belly, saying:—"If I can only find out whether 'tis a boy or a girl." Thus did she destroy both her own life and her unborn infant, and her wealth also, through the foolish and thoughtless way in which, seeking a heritage, she met with ruin and disaster. Even so you, Prince, foolish and thoughtless that you are, will meet with ruin and disaster by seeking without wisdom for another world. [332] Moral and virtuous Wanderers and Brahmins do not force maturity on that which is unripe; they, being wise, wait for that maturity. The virtuous have need of their life. In proportion to the length of time such men abide here, is the abundant merit that they produce and accomplish for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the advantage, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men. Let this then be a proof to you, Prince, that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than of parentage, that there is fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

14. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you further evidence, Prince?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how, Prince?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. Take the case of men who having taken a felon red-handed bring him up, saying:—"This felon, my lord, was caught in the act. Inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I should say:—"Well then, my masters, throw this man alive into a jar; close the mouth of it and cover it

over with wet leather, put over that a thick cement of moist clay, put it on to a furnace and kindle a fire." [333] They saying "Very good" would obey me and . . . kindle a fire. When we knew that the man was dead, we should take down the jar, unbind and open the mouth, and quickly observe it, with the idea :—"Perhaps we may see the soul of him coming out!" We don't see the soul of him coming out! This, master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there neither is another world, nor rebirth other than by parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

15. 'Well then, Prince, I will in reply ask you something, and do you answer as you may please. Do you not admit, Prince, that, when you are taking siesta, you see dreams of enjoyment in garden, grove, country, or lake side?'

'I do admit it, Master Kassapa.'

'Are you at that time watched over by attendant women—hunchbacks and dwarfs, and maidens¹ and girls?'

'That is so, Master Kassapa.'

'Do they see your soul entering or leaving you?'

[334] 'Not so, Master Kassapa.'

'So they who are living do not see the soul of you who are living entering or leaving you (when you dream). How then will you see the soul of a dead person entering or leaving him? Let this be a proof to you, Prince, that those things do exist.'

16. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men taking a felon red-handed, and bringing him up saying :—"My lord, we caught this felon in the act. Inflict what penalty

¹ Velâmikâ, 'very young and childish,' says Buddhaghosa here. Above, p. 231, it seems to be a clan name, but used in a similar connexion.

you wish." And I say:—"Well then, my masters, take this man and weigh him alive; then strangle him with a bowstring and weigh him again." And they do so. While he lives, he is more buoyant, supple, wieldy. When he is dead, he is weightier, stiffer, unwieldier. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than by human parentage, nor fruit nor result of deeds well-done or ill-done.'

17. 'Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile [335], for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. It is just as if, Prince, a man were to weigh in a balance a ball of iron that had been heated all day, and was burning and glowing with heat; and were to weigh it later on in a balance when it was cool and quenched. When would that ball of iron be lighter, softer and more plastic? When it was burning and glowing with heat, or when it was cool and quenched?'

'When, Master Kassapa, that ball of iron, with its lambent and gaseous concomitants, is burning and glowing with heat, then it is lighter, softer, more plastic, but when, without those lambent and gaseous concomitants, it is cool and quenched, it is then heavier, more rigid, less plastic.'

'Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it is lighter, softer and more plastic. But when it lacks those three concomitants, then it is heavier, more rigid, less plastic.'

'Let this, Prince, be a proof to you that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

18. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What might that be like?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of the men taking a felon red-handed and bringing him up, saying:—"My lord, this felon was caught in the act. [336] Inflict on

him what penalty you wish." And I say:—"Well, my masters, kill this man by stripping off cuticle and skin and flesh and sinews and bones and marrow." They do so. And when he is half dead, I say:—"Lay him on his back, and perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out." And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. Then I say:—"Well then, lay him bent over . . . on his side . . . on the other side . . . stand him up . . . stand him on his head . . . smite him with your hand . . . with clods . . . on this side . . . on that side . . . all over; perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out." And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. He has sight and there are forms, but the organ does not perceive them; he has hearing and there are sounds, but the organ does not perceive them; he has smell and there are odours, [337] but the organ does not perceive them, he has a tongue and there are tastes, but the organ does not perceive them; he has a body and there are tangibles, but the organ does not perceive them. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor re-birth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

19. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain trumpeter, taking his trumpet of chank-shell, travelled to the folk on the border. When he came to a certain village, he stood in its midst and blew thrice on his trumpet, then laying it on the ground sat down beside it. Now, Prince, those border folk thought:—"Whose is this sound so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating?" Coming together they asked the trumpeter. "This, my masters, is what men call a trumpet, the sound whereof is so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating." They laid the trumpet on its back and said:—"Speak, master trumpet! speak, master trumpet!" No sound did the trumpet make. They laid the trumpet curving downward, on this side, on that side, they stood it upright,

they stood it topsy turvy, they struck it with their hands, with a clod, with a stick, with a sword, on one side, on the other, on every side, saying:—"Speak, master trumpet! speak, master trumpet!" [338] Then, Prince, the trumpeter thought:—"How silly are these border born men! Why will they seek so senselessly for the trumpet's sound?" And while they looked on, he took his trumpet, blew thrice upon it and, taking it with him, went away. Then, Prince, those border born men thought thus:—"When forsooth there was with that trumpet a man, and an effort, and air, that same trumpet made sounds. But when there was with it neither man, nor effort, nor air, that same trumpet made no sounds." Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it goes about and comes back, it stands and sits and lies down, it sees forms with the eye, hears sounds with the ear, smells odours with the smell, tastes tastes with the tongue, touches the tangible with the body, cognizes things with the mind. But when it lacks those three concomitants, it can do none of these things. Let this, Prince, be to you a proof that there both is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

20. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, [339] it still appears to me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What may that be like?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up, saying:—"My lord, we caught this felon in the act; inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I say:—"Well, my masters, flay this man alive, perchance we may see the soul of him passing out." They do so, but no passing of the soul of him do we see. And in cutting out his integument, and his flesh, and his nerves, and breaking his bones and extracting the marrow thereof, still no

soul of him do we see. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

21. 'Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, a fire-worshipping Jāṭila was dwelling in a leaf-hut in a woodland spot. Now the people of a certain country-side migrated. And their leader, after spending one night near the Jāṭila's hermitage, went away. [340] Then the Jāṭila thought:—"If I were to go to that leader's camp, I might perhaps get something useful." And rising up betimes he came to the leader's camp, and there he saw, abandoned and lying on its back a little baby. And when he saw it he thought:—"It is not fit that I should let a human being die while I look on. What if I were to carry this baby to my hermitage, and foster, tend, and rear it?" So he carried the baby to his hermitage, and fostered, tended, and reared it. When the boy had attained the age of ten or twelve years, it happened that the Jāṭila had something or other to do in the country-side. So he said to the boy:—"I want to go to the country-side, my lad; keep up the fire; do not let it go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again." And having thus instructed the boy, the Jāṭila went off to the country-side. Intent upon his play, the boy let the fire out. Then he thought:—"Father told me, 'Tend the fire, my lad; let it not go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again.' What if I were now to do so?" [341] Then the boy chopped the fire drill with the hatchet, thinking:—"Perhaps that's how I shall get fire." No fire got he. He split the fire drill in twain, in three, four, five, ten, a hundred pieces, he made it into piecemeal, he then pounded it in a mortar, and winnowed it in the wind, thinking that so he might

perhaps get fire. No fire got he. Then the Jaṭila, having accomplished his business, came back to his own hermitage and said to the boy :—"Why, child, you have let the fire out!" "Father, the fire went out because I was busy at my game. Then I thought of what you had told me, and I set about rekindling it. And I chopped the fire drill with the hatchet to get fire, but no fire came. And I went on till I had smashed the fire drill into atoms, pounded it in a mortar and winnowed it in the wind, but I never got any fire!" Then the Jaṭila thought :—"How silly, how unintelligent is the lad! Why will he be seeking fire in this senseless manner?" And while the boy looked on, he took a fire drill, and making fire said to him :—[342] "This is how to make fire, my lad. One doesn't try to get it as you, so silly and unintelligent, were trying." Even so, Prince, have you, silly and unintelligent, sought after another world. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions. Let them not involve you for long in bale and sorrow!

22. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me :—"How silly is Prince Pāvāsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything!" In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!'

23. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile; for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a great caravan of a thousand carts was going from the East country into the West country. Wherever it went, it consumed swiftly straw, wood, water and verdure. Now in that caravan were two caravan leaders, each commanding one half of the carts. [343] And this occurred to them :—

“ This is a great caravan, one of a thousand carts. Wherever we go, we consume everything. What if we were to divide this caravan into two, five hundred carts in each.”

‘ So they divided that caravan into two equal portions. Then one of the leaders collected large quantities of straw, wood and water, and started [his carts]. On the second or third march the leader saw a swarthy red-eyed man coming from the opposite direction, armed with a quiver, wearing a lotus wreath, his garments and hair wet, and driving a chariot drawn by asses, its wheel splashed with mud. When he saw this man he said :—“ Whence come you, Sir ? ”

“ From such and such a district ”

“ Whither go you ? ”

“ To such and such a district.”

“ Has there, Sir, been any great fall of rain recently in the jungle ? ”

“ Yes indeed, Sir, there has been a great rain in the jungle just in front, the roads are well watered, there is much grass and wood and water. [344] Throw away the grass and wood and water, Sir, you have already got ; with light-laden carts you will go quite quickly ; do not tire your teams.”

‘ Then the leader told his carters what the man had said, and bade them throw away their provender and wood, that the caravan might travel more quickly.

“ So be it, sir,” the carters replied, and did so. But at their first camp they saw no grass or wood or water, nor at the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh camp. So they all met with ruin and disaster. And then that fiend, the yakkha, devoured all the men and the cattle in that caravan, leaving only the bones behind.

‘ When the second caravan leader knew that the other caravan had got well on its way, he took in large supplies of grass and wood and water and set out. And he too met a swarthy red-eyed man, [345] and exchanged with him the same remarks, and was also bidden to throw away his provender.

'Then that leader said to his carters: "This man, sirs, says that there has recently been much rain in the jungle, that the roads are watered, and there is plenty of grass and wood and water. And he advises us to throw away our provender, so that, with lightened carts we may travel quicker and not weary our teams. But this man, sirs, is not a friend of ours, nor a kinsman, nor of our blood. Why should we act as if we trusted him? Our stock of provender is not to be thrown away; let the caravan proceed with the goods we brought; let us not part with what we have."

"So be it, sir," agreed the carters, and went on with the stock they had loaded. And at seven successive camping places they saw no grass or wood or water; [346] but they saw the other caravan that had come to grief. And they saw the skeletons of the men and cattle devoured by that yakkha fiend.

'Then the caravan leader said to the carters: "That caravan, my masters, met with ruin and disaster, through having that silly caravan leader for its guide. Well then, let us leave here such of our wares as are of little value, and take from that caravan such wares as are of great value. "So be it, master," replied the carters, and made the transfer, and passed safely through the jungle, through having this wise caravan leader for their guide.¹

'Even so you, Prince, silly and unintelligent, will meet with ruin and disaster in that you seek so senselessly after another world, even like that former caravan leader. They who fancy that they can believe whatever they hear, will meet with ruin and disaster, even like those carters. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions; renounce them, I say! Let them not involve you long in bale and sorrow!'

24. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still

¹ This story has been turned into a Jātaka by identifying the hero as the Buddha in a previous birth, and has been made the first story in the collection afterwards put together as the Jātaka Book. ' is one of twelve stories in that book found in the older texts. See 'Buddhist India,' p. 195.

cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion [347] that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, master Kassapa, renounce these opinions people will say of me: "How silly is prince Pâyâsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything!" In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!

25. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain swineherd was going from his own village to another village. There he saw a heap of dry dung thrown away. Seeing it he thought:—"That's a lot of dry dung thrown away which will feed my pigs. What if I were to carry it away?" So he spread out his cloak and collecting the dry dung tied it into a bundle and lifting it on to his head went on. In the after-part of his journey there fell a heavy shower of rain out of season. He, splashed with muck to his nail-tips, bearing his oozing, dripping dung-burden, went on his way. And men seeing him said:—"Gramercy, you must be mad, you must be out of your senses! How can you tote along that oozing, dripping load of dung, splashed with muck to your nail-tips?" "It's you that are mad, you that are out of your senses; by this my pigs will get food." [348] Even so, methinks, Prince, do you talk, like this dung-carrying simile. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a cause of bale and sorrow to you.'

26. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me:—"How silly is Prince Pâyâsi, how

unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! ” In anger thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it ! ’

27. ‘ Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, two gamesters were playing with dice. One gamester swallowed as it came each adverse die. The other gamester saw him do this and said :—“ Look here, friend, you’ve won outright ; give me the dice ; I will make a votive offering of them.” “ Good, friend,” said the other, and handed over the dice. Then the second gamester smeared over the dice with poison, and proposed to the former :—“ Come along, friend, let’s play.” “ Good, friend,” replied the other. Again, therefore, they played, and again that gamester swallowed each adverse die. [349] The second gamester saw him doing so and said :—

The man knows not the swallowed die

With sharpest burning is smeared o’er.

Swallow, you false cheat, swallow now !

Bitter the hour at hand for you !¹

‘ Even like the simile of the gamester, Prince, methinks is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say ! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow to you ! ’

28. ‘ Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign

¹ This story is also in the Jātaka Book, I, 380. The *modus operandi* of the cheat is rendered obscure by our ignorance of the game played. Lüders in his ‘ Würfelspiel der alten Inder ’ has shown that the dice were seeds of a tree called the Vibhitaka, and that the usual game was probably to throw a number of seeds on a board, having previously fixed on a certain number. The seeds fell some upright, some on their sides. Only the upright ones counted. If they were less than the agreed number it was a draw ; if equal the thrower won and threw again ; if more he lost, and lost the throw. An extra seed was called the kali, ‘ the unlucky die.’ This the cheat seems to have managed to pick up, and swallow.

kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say : " How silly is Prince Pâyâsi, how unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! " In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it.

29. ' Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain country-side migrated. And one man said to his crony :—" Let's go friend, to that country-side ; perhaps we may come upon some treasure." " Good, friend," assented the other. And they came to where, in that country-side, there was a certain village street. [350] There they saw a heap of hemp thrown away. Then one said to the other : " Here's a heap of hemp : do you make some into a bundle, I'll do the same and we'll carry it away." The other consented, and they did so.

' Bearing this burden they went on to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen thread thrown away, and one said to the other :—" This heap of hempen thread thrown away is just the thing we want hemp for. Well then, friend, you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away mine, and we'll take away each a load of hempen thread." " I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's well tied up—that's enough for me ; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen thread.

' Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen cloths. And the one said to the other :—" This heap of hempen cloths is just the thing we want hemp for, or hempen thread for. Well then, friend, do you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away my load of hempen thread, and we'll each take a load of hempen cloth." " I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's

well tied up—that's enough for me; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen cloth.

'Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of flax; and to another where they saw linen thread; and to another where they saw linen cloth. And at each place the one crony made a change for the better, the other retained his hemp. [351] Further they saw cotton-down, cotton thread and calico; and the same thing happened. Further they saw iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold. So that in the end the one crony had a load of gold, the other of hemp.

'So they came to their own village. There the crony who brought a load of hemp pleased neither his parents, nor his own family, nor his friends, and won neither pleasure or happiness. [352] But the other with his load of gold both gave and won pleasure.

'Even like the simile of the load of hemp, methinks Prince, is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow to you.'

30. 'With Master Kassapa's first simile I was pleased, I was charmed; moreover I wanted to hear his ready wit in questions, for I regarded Master Kassapa as one who was to be opposed. It is wonderful, Master Kassapa, it is marvellous! just as if one were to set up what has been upset, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the road to the bewildered, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that they that have eyes may see—even so has the truth been declared in many a figure by Master Kassapa. And I, even I, betake myself for refuge to Gotama the Exalted One, to the Doctrine and to the Brotherhood. May Master Kassapa accept me as a disciple, as one who from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken him as his guide. And I should like, Master Kassapa, to offer a great sacrifice. Let Master Kassapa instruct me herein that it may bring me long welfare and happiness.'

31. 'At the sort of sacrifice, Prince, where oxen are

slain, or goats, or fowls and pigs, or divers creatures are put an end to; [353] and those that take part in the sacrifice have wrong views, wrong intention, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong endeavour, wrong mindfulness, wrong rapture, such a sacrifice, Prince, is neither of great fruitfulness nor of great profit, nor of great renown, nor of widespread effect¹. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in an untilled tract, in unfavourable soil, among unuprooted stumps, to plant seeds that were broken, rotten, spoilt by wind and heat, out of season, not in good condition, and the god were not to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds attain to growth, increase and expansion, or would the farmer get abundant returns?'

'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice. But where, Prince, neither oxen are slain, nor goats, nor fowls and pigs, nor are divers creatures put an end to, and those that partake of the sacrifice have right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right rapture, such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, of great profit, of great renown, of widespread effect. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood, taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in a well-tilled tract, in favourable soil well cleared of stumps, [354] to plant seed that was unbroken, free from mildew, unspoilt by wind or heat, in season and in good condition, and the god were to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds grow, increase, expand, and would the farmer get abundant returns?'

'He would indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice, where . . . no creatures are put to death, and those that take part

¹ So of the sacrifice intended by the Very Reverend Sir Gold-stick Sharp-tooth in the *Kûadanta*. See especially above, I, 163.

therein are of high character. Such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, profit, renown and widespread effect.'

32. Then Prince Pāyāsi instituted a gift to Wanderers and Brahmins, the poor, wayfarers, beggars and petitioners. In that gift such food was given as gruel and scraps of food, and coarse robes with ball-fringes¹. And at that gift a young brahmin named Uttara was passed over². When the largesse had been distributed he mocked, saying: 'By this largesse I have met Prince Pāyāsi in this world, but how about the next?'³ [355] Pāyāsi heard of this, and sent word to Uttara asking him if it was true that he was saying this?

'Yes, sir,' replied Uttara.

'But why have you been saying this, my dear Uttara? Do not we who are seeking merit look for result from giving?'

'In your gift, sir, such food as gruel and broken meats are given which you, sir, would not touch with your foot, much less eat; also coarse ball-fringed robes which you, sir, would not deign to use as carpets, much less to wear. You, sir, are pleasant and dear to us; how are we to associate what is pleasant and dear with what is unpleasant?'

'Well then, my dear Uttara, do you arrange that such food shall be given as I eat, and such garments be given as I wear.'

'Very good, sir,' replied Uttara, and did so⁴.

¹ To keep the robes down.

² Vyāva/o. This became almost a technical term in connexion with largesse. It is literally 'hindered'; but when the things to be given were too limited as compared with the number of applicants, some had to be passed over. They were *dāna-vyāva/ā* 'hindered at the largesse' (Jāt. III, 129). Compare D. II, 141; Sum. I, 296; Jāt. I, 89; VVA. 298. But here perhaps it may simply mean 'objected to the largesse.'

³ Literally 'do not associate (with him) in the next.' The gibe intended must be very nearly as we have rendered. But both the reading of the text and the grammatical construction are doubtful. The word we have rendered 'mocked' (*uddissati*) has only been found here. Perhaps it means 'showed (the matter) up,' which comes to much the same as to point the finger of mockery.

⁴ Apparently at his own cost.

[356] Now prince Pâyâsi, inasmuch as he had bestowed his gift without thoroughness, not with his own hands, without due thought, as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings¹, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who had objected to that gift and had bestowed his gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought, not as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn in a bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods.

33. Now at that time the venerable Gavampati² used frequently to go for siesta to the empty mansion of the Acacia. And Pâyâsi, now one of the gods, came up to him and, saluting him, stood on one side. To him so standing the venerable Gavampati said :—‘ Who art thou, friend ? ’

‘ I, sir, am prince Pâyâsi. ’

‘ Wert thou not once of the opinion that there was no other world, no rebirth other than of parents, no fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done ? ’

[357] ‘ I was indeed, sir, but through his reverence Kumâra Kassapa I detached myself from that evil set of opinions. ’

‘ But the youth Uttara, who objected to thy gift, friend, whereunto has he been reborn ? ’

‘ He, Sir, having objected to my gift, and having himself bestowed a gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought, not as something discarded, has, since he died, been reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. I, sir, inasmuch as I bestowed my gift without thoroughness, not with my own hand, without due thought, as something discarded, was after my death

¹ The guardian spirits of the four quarters. See the Introduction to the Mahâ-samaya Suttanta.

² He had been the son of a merchant at Benares; and had been received into the Order by the Buddha at the very beginning of his career as a teacher (Vin. I, 19). This legend supposes him, still a man, going for meditation to the lower heavens.

reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of Acacia. Wherefore, Gavampati, Sir, go thou into the world of men and tell them :—"Give ye your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if ye were discarding somewhat. For so did not prince Pāyāsi; and he after his death was reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who bestowed his gifts in the right way, was after his death reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods."'

34. So the venerable Gavampati came back to the world of men, and there told these things.

The Pāyāsi Dialogue is ended.

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Dialogues of the Buddha

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INTRODUCTION.

It is now twenty years since the first volume of this translation of the *Digha* was published. Other work, infirmities and old age have contributed to the delay, and the work would never have been finished if it had not received the co-operation of my wife, who in spite of much other work to do, found time to assist me so often and so much.

In the opening pages of the first volume eight facts were referred to as evidence of the age of the *Digha*, and incidentally of the rest of that part of the Pali literature which belonged to the same period. The conclusions drawn from these facts were that the books in question were North Indian in origin; that they belonged to a period before the time of Asoka, and before South India and Ceylon were well known in the North of India; and that they contained good evidence for the 5th century, and indeed, in parts of them, for the 6th century B.C.

Since these conclusions were drawn the Pali Text Society has published nearly fifty volumes of Pali texts. They belong to all periods. But so far as they throw light on the subject, they confirm the above conclusions. Two valuable treatises on Pali Literature have also appeared—the one by Professor Winternitz in the 2nd vol. of his *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*,¹ and the other by Professor Geiger in his *Pali Literatur und Sprache*.² The two scholars, though differing on many points of detail, agree on

¹ Leipzig, 1913.

² Vol. I, Pt. 7 of *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1916.

the main point of the general accuracy of the above conclusions.

We can now go a little further. With the whole of the texts before us we can speak with more certainty as to the method of their gradual growth, and as to the difference of age of the various portions. We have no space here to repeat the arguments put forward in *Buddhist India*, pp. 165-188. We can only give the general conclusions. These are—

1. Of the twenty-nine books in the canon only one—the latest—has a putative author, and even in that case 'editor' would be more accurate than 'author.'

2. Most of them, including all the most important, are anthologies, collections of older material.

3. Some of this older material had already been collected into smaller anthologies, now no longer extant as separate books, but incorporated in the existing ones. Such are the *Pātimokkha*, the *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyana*, and the *Octades*.

4. The older material consists of hymns or ethical verses or ballads; and of prose passages on doctrine or ethics or conduct, and of parables, or short episodes in the life history of the principal contemporaries of the Buddha. Such passages can often be distinguished from the context in which they now stand by the fact that they are found in identical words in two or more of the existing anthologies.

5. The great compendiums—that is the *Four Nikāyas*, and the *Vinaya*—grew up side by side, and were probably completed in their present shape about a century after the Buddha's death.

6. When such a passage or stanza as is mentioned in § 4 occurs in two or more of these five there need be no question of one having borrowed from the other. Each may have incorporated the passage or stanza or episode from the common stock of such passages, etc., handed down in the community.

7. Each of them has at the end an appendix which is a little later than the rest of the work.

8. We have now a long and increasing list of words or

thoughts which are tests of age—words used in one sense in the older strata of the literature and in another sense in later strata (*abhiññā*, *anāgāmin*, *abhidhamma*, *ogha*, etc.)—new words introduced to modify or supplement ideas in older works (*dukkāṭa*, *dhutanga*, etc.) and new words formed to express new ideas.¹ Such test-words are invaluable in assisting us to determine the comparative age (with reference to other passages) of the particular passage in which they occur.

9. It has been possible therefore to arrange the canonical books into a list showing their comparative age during the period from the time of the Buddha to that of Asoka.²

10. Not one of these twenty-nine Pali books has been, so far as we know, translated into Sanskrit. When some Buddhists, notably the Sabbatthivādins (to be henceforth known as Sarvāstivādins), began to write in Sanskrit about the time of Kanishka, they wrote new works, or made new anthologies. These sometimes had titles imitated from the titles of the Pali books; and the anthologies, whether in prose or verse or both, contained some of the selections included in the Pali anthologies with similar names. But they were new books.

11. Their historical value is all the greater on that account. It is the differences we want to know about. What changes did they make in doctrine or discipline, and why? It is waste of time to speculate without the texts. And especially we want a complete edition of all the Sarvāstivādin works (except more story books—they can wait).

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

January, 1921.

¹ See, for instance, Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* (Quest Series), pp. 140-200; and cf. the list given in Rhys Davids, *Questions of Milinda* I, xlv. ff.

² See *Buddhist India*, p. 188.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PĀṬIKA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is concerned really with only two topics, firstly that of mystic wonders, and secondly that of the origin of things. The former has been dealt with much better and more fully in the Kevaddha;¹ the latter, here treated quite curtly and by way of appendix only, is fully discussed below in the Aggañña.

The treatment here is clumsy. It is no doubt intended to be both humorous and edifying. But the humour is far removed from the delicate irony of the Kevaddha and the Aggañña. The fun is of the pantomime variety; loud, and rather stupid. It is funny perhaps to hear how a corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and then falls back dead again; or how an incompetent medicine-man gets stuck fast to his seat, and wriggles about in his vain endeavours to rise. But this sort of fun would appeal more strongly to a music-hall audience, or to schoolboys out for a holiday, than to those who are likely to read it in this volume. And the supposed edification is of the same order. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, as propounded for the enlightenment of the very foolish Sunakkhatta (and this is just, after all, what it purports to be), it may pass muster. Whether it can have appealed to (or was even meant to appeal to) wiser folk is very questionable. One gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which the Tathāgata is here represented as suffering fools gladly. And it is difficult to bear with an author who tells stories so foolish merely to prove that the Tathāgata is as good a magician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of the Tathāgata himself. Not only in style and taste does this Suttanta differ from the others. In doctrine also it is opposed to them. The wonders in which the peoples of India, in the sixth century B.C., believed were not very different from those so easily, at the same period,

¹ Above, I, 272-279.

believed in Europe. The mental attitude regarding them was, I venture to think, not at all the same. In the West, though the other view was also found, the prevailing belief was that such wonders were the result of the interference of some deity suspending, or changing, the general law, the sequence of things that generally happened. In India, though this view was sometimes held by some, the prevailing belief was that such wonders (whether worked by humans, gods, or animals) were in accordance with law. In a word, they were not miracles. There is a tendency to make little of this distinction, but it is really of vital importance. It is the difference between Animism and what I have ventured to call Normalism, the exact contrary of Animism.¹

The early Buddhists did not deny the occurrence of such marvels; on the contrary, they accepted them in the Normalistic sense held by most of their more cultured compatriots. But they held them in low esteem. The Kevaddha makes the Master say :

It is because I see danger in the practice of such mystic wonders that I loathe, and abhor, and am ashamed thereof.²

And he is there represented as maintaining that the real wonder, the one he advocates, is the wonder of education—a thesis then set out in detail, and set out, in all probability, for the first time in the history of the world.

So at Dīgha III, 112, 113 (translated below), a distinction is made between such wonders as are ignoble and those that are noble (Ariyan). The former are all the wonders worked by the unconverted, or the worldly. The latter is the wonder of self-mastery.

Then again there is a special rule in the canon law :

You are not, O Bhikkhus, to display before the laity the wonders of Iddhi, surpassing the power of ordinary men. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a wrong act (*dukkata*).³

Yet in this Suttanta we have the Master, who is said in the Vinaya to have laid down this rule, represented as doing the very thing he denounces in the Rule as a wrong act.

We have before us then a case, not only of divergence in doctrine, but of complete contradiction. What does it mean? It is partly a question of time, partly a question of individual eccentricity, and partly a question of toleration. Our Suttanta can scarcely have grown up in the community

¹ Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1915.

² Above, I, 278.

³ Vinaya II, 112 ; translated in Vinaya Texts III, 81.

after the period in which the Rule just quoted became acknowledged in the community as valid. Now the occurrence in the Rule of the technical term *dukkata* (wrong act), a term not found in the *Pātimokkha*, shows (for the reasons given by Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the text) that the Rule in question belongs to the third and latest stage in the evolution of the Canon Law. We must allow, at least, two or three generations after the death of the Buddha for this evolution. During that interval different individuals in the community held different views as to the powers of magic. No one believed in miracles in the European sense of that word. But there were a number of individuals who thought it edifying to ascribe the power of magic, and to ascribe it in ever increasing degree, to the Buddha and his most famous disciples. The view of the more intelligent; the view that ultimately, in great measure, prevailed; and so far as we can judge, the view of the Buddha himself, was the view put forward in the *Kevaddha* and allied passages. But the other view was also held by weaker vessels. And when the anthology called the *Dīgha* was put together, its editor, or editors, included not only both old and new, but also stories, legends or paragraphs embodying views divergent and even opposed. We are not entitled on these facts to suppose that the *Pātika Suttanta* was either later or earlier than the *Kevaddha*. Both may have been already current in the community when the *Dīgha* was edited, and the editors may have been tolerant of whichever of the opposing views they did not share; or they may have thought the story should go in, as it clearly implied how very silly *Sunakkhatta* was, and how deplorably weak were the views he held.

The word *Arahant* is, in this *Suttanta*, applied by *Sunakkhatta* to three persons—*religieux* of the baser sort, devoid, in all that we are told about them, of the essential qualities of the *Arahant* as laid down in the *Nikāyas*. He is simply not using the word in the Buddhist sense at all. The expression is pre-Buddhistic. It is used, for instance, in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the Hundred Paths of kings and priests, not apparently with any ethical connotation, but simply as people entitled to receive gifts and respect, and who are apt to be very angry if these be not forthcoming.¹ It is here an honorific title, used of worldly people of distinguished position. It might be freely rendered Right Honourable, but

¹ *Śat. Br. (S.B.E.)* III, 4, 1, 3, 6, 8.

really means worthy or entitled to receive gifts. In our Suttanta it is applied by Sunakkhatta, who rejects the new movement of reform, to ascetics as such merely on account of their self-mortification (*tapas*).¹ It might be rendered His Worship (that is, worth-ship) or His Reverence. In this he has the devas on his side. They are represented as saying of one become emaciated by voluntary starvation that he is like in appearance to an Arahant.² Now the dear devas were not considered as very bright, except in their outward form. They were intellectually on a level with the chorus in a Greek play, or with the man in the street of the modern journalist, but they talk, no doubt, the language of men, and we may take it that at the time of the rise of Buddhism the word Arahant had come to be popularly applied, not only to priests and kings, but also to ascetics.³

As in so many other cases, the leaders of the new movement adopted the current term, but poured, as it were, new wine into the old bottle by using it with a new connotation. They tried the same plan also with the old term Brahmin, and then they failed; vested interests were too strong for them.⁴

In this particular case they succeeded. Seldom or never in later writings do we find the word in its old sense. It has the reformed meaning only—viz., that of a man who has reached the end of the Ariyan Path and has the consequent knowledge and sense of emancipation.⁵ And as a consequence of this we find alongside of the old derivation (from *arahati*, to be worthy of) all sorts of fanciful and purely exegetical explanations. So at Majjhima I, 280 the word is connected with *āraṇa*, distant, because all evil dispositions are far from the Arahant, and the Visuddhi Magga⁶ and the Abhidhāna Padīpikā Sūcī (*s.v.*) give a number of others of the same kind.

Arahant, in the new sense, thus differs from the ancient usage in connoting not worldly position or the outward signs of asceticism, but a radical change of heart, and an alertness of intellect so ingrained that it amounts, at times, to intuition. There are many passages in the oldest texts

¹ See the passages referred to above, II, 208-311.

² Majjhima I, 245. Cf. Pss. of the Sisters, p. 130.

³ Ye loke arahanto. See Saṃyutta II, 220.

⁴ See above, Vol. I, p. 141.

⁵ Majjhima III, 76. Comp. Saṃyutta III, 161; IV, 175-

252.

⁶ P. 198 f.

giving the details of this ideal state.¹ The post-canonical history of the word is a striking testimony to the decline of the faith. The later writers, whether in Pāli or Sanskrit, do not know any contemporary Arahants. For them Arahants, whether laymen or not, existed only in the good old times. We have seen above² how the Buddha, just before his death, in the talk with his last convert, gives utterance to the hope: May the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of Arahants!

According to the view of Buddhist writers, the world has been bereft of Arahants for more than two thousand years. But the Buddhist Messiah is to come and then there will be Arahants again.³

There arises out of this a further question: Who, in the oldest period, could be an Arahant? The answer is: Anyone—men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*.⁴ There is a statement in the Milinda (p. 264) that Whoever has attained, as a layman, to Arahantship, one of two courses is possible to him, and no other—either that very day he enters the Order, or he dies, for beyond that day he cannot last.

No confirmation of this has so far been found in the Nikāyas. But there is an adumbration to such a doctrine in the Kathā Vatthu (IV. 1) when the objector has decidedly the best of the argument against the Thera-vādin. The latter depends on a statement put into the Master's mouth in the Majjhima:

'There is no layman who, without putting away the bonds that bind laymen, obtains after death the end of ills.'⁵

But this is a very different matter and is no answer, as pointed out by the objector, to the fact that examples are given of laymen who become Arahants. When laymen had experienced the mental change called becoming an Arahant, the natural result, under the conditions prevailing in North India in the sixth or fifth centuries B.C., would be that he

¹ See R. O. Franke in Appendix II to his *Digha Nikāya* (Leipzig, 1913), a translation into German of selected portions of the *Digha*.

² Vol. II, p. 167.

³ *Dighā* III, 76.

⁴ For examples of lay Arahants see *Vinaya*, I, 17; *Samyutta* V, 94; *Anguttara* III, 451; *Kathā Vatthu* 267. Compare the Comy. on *Theragāthā* (Pss. of the Brethren, 234, a boy seven years old), and on *Therī-Gāthā* 64 (a girl seven years old); *Dhp.* Comy. I, 308; *Jāt.* II, 229; *Milinda* II, 57, 96, 245.

⁵ *Majjhima* I, 483.

would become a *religieux*. And this may have been sufficient reason for such opinions as those expressed in the Kathā Vatthu and the Milinda having, in the course of centuries, grown up.

We talk now of the Buddha, and have scarcely begun to be familiar with the term Arahant. In the old days these were so closely allied that they really gave expression to two facets of the same jewel. Every Buddha (awakened one) was an Arahant. Every Arahant was buddha (awakened).¹

T. W. R. D.

¹ Saṃyutta I, 169, 200; III, 83 f.; Sutta-Nipāta 186, 590; Udāna I, 5; Sum. Vil. I, 43; and the passages quoted above, II, 1-3.

XXIV. PATIKA SUTTANTA.¹

MYSTIC WONDERS AND THE ORIGIN OF THINGS.

THUS have I heard :

1. 1. The Exalted One was once staying among the Mallas, at Anupiya, one of their towns.² Now the Exalted One, having robed himself in the early morning, put on his cloak and took his bowl, and entered the town for alms. And he thought : It is too early for me now to go through Anupiya for alms. I might go to the pleasaunce where Bhaggava the Wanderer dwells,³ and call upon Bhaggava. So the Exalted One went to the pleasaunce and to the place where Bhaggava the Wanderer was.

[1] 2. Then Bhaggava spake thus to the Exalted One: Let my Lord the Exalted One come near. Welcome to the Exalted One! It is long since the Exalted One has taken the opportunity⁴ to come our way. May it please you, Sir, to be seated ; here is a seat made ready.

The Exalted One sat down thereon, and Bhaggava, taking a certain low stool, sat down beside him. So

¹ It appears from the passages quoted above (Vol. I, p. 199) that this dialogue was supposed to have taken place only shortly before the Buddha's death. The Burmese MSS. spell the name Pāthika, apparently holding this man to be identical with the Ājivaka ascetic named Pāthika of Dhṛp. Comy. I, 376.

² Cf. Vin. Texts III, 224 ; Ud. II, § 10 ; Dhṛp. Comy. I, 133.

³ Literally, the wanderer who belonged to the Bhaggava gotta, or gens, a wider term than family. His personal name was Channa (cf. Sum. Vil. 35?). He should not be confounded with another Wanderer of the same gotta settled in Magadha who is said, in the Therīgāthā Comy. (p. 2), Pss. of the Sisters (p. 4), to have been Gotama's first teacher.

It will be seen that in accordance with the rule of courtesy explained above (I, 195), Gotama addresses the Wanderer by his gotta, not by his mūla-nāma.

⁴ * Pariyāyam akāsi. The exact meaning of this idiom is uncertain. See the note above, I, 245.

seated, Bhaggava the Wanderer spake thus to the Exalted One :

Some days ago, Lord, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis¹ called on me and spake thus : I have now given up the Exalted One, Bhaggava. I am remaining no longer under him (as my teacher). Is the fact really so, just as he said ?

It is just so, Bhaggava, as Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis said.

3. Some days ago, Bhaggava, a good many days ago, Sunakkhatta, the Licchavi, came to call on me, and spake thus : Sir, I now give up the Exalted One. I will henceforth remain no longer under him (as my teacher). When he told me this, I said to him : But now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you : Come, Sunakkhatta, live under me (as my pupil) ?

No, Sir, you have not.

[8] Or have you ever said to me : Sir, I would fain dwell under the Exalted One (as my teacher) ?

No, Sir, I have not.

But if I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I that you talk of giving up ?² See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.³

4. Well, but, Sir, the Exalted One works me no mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men.⁴

Why, now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you : Come, take me as your teacher, Sunakkhatta, and I will work for you mystic wonders surpassing the power of ordinary men ?

You have not, Sir.

Or have you ever said to me : Sir, I would fain take the Exalted One as my teacher, for he will work for

¹ His story is sketched above (I, 199).

² Literally, being who, whom do you give up ? that is, considering your want of position in the matter, how can you so talk ? So also at M., I, 428.

³ *Yāvañ ca te idaṃ aparaddhaṃ*. See D. II, 198 ; M. III, 169.

⁴ *Iddhi-pāṭihāriya*. See above, I, 272-9, for a statement of the doctrine on mystic wonders.

me mystic wonders beyond the powers of ordinary men?

I have not, Sir.

But if I said not the one, and you said not the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether mystic wonders beyond the power of ordinary man are wrought, or whether they are not, is the object for which I teach the Norm this: that it leads to the thorough destruction of ill for the doer thereof?

[4] Whether, Sir, they are so wrought or not, that is indeed the object for which the Norm is taught by the Exalted One.

If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether mystic wonders are wrought or not, of what use to you would be the working of them? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.

5. But, Sir, the Exalted One does not reveal to me the beginning of things.¹

Why now, Sunakkhatta, have I ever said to you: Come, Sunakkhatta, be my disciple and I will reveal to you the beginning of things?

Sir, you have not.

Or have you ever said to me: I will become the Exalted One's pupil, for he will reveal to me the beginning of things?

Sir, I have not.

But if I have not said the one and you have not said the other, what are you and what am I, foolish man, that you talk of giving up on that account? What think you, Sunakkhatta? Whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, is the object for which I teach the Norm this: that it leads to the thorough destruction of ill for the doer thereof?

¹ Na... aggaññan paññapeti. Aggañña, meaning priority in time, space or merit, is by the Comy. defined here as loka-paññatti, revelation of the world, and, in the Aggañña Suttanta below, as lokuppatti, the genesis of the world.

Whether, Sir, they are revealed or not, that is indeed the object for which the Norm is taught by the Exalted one.

[5] If then, Sunakkhatta, it matters not to that object whether the beginning of things be revealed, or whether it be not, of what use to you would it be to have the beginning of things revealed? See, foolish one, in how far the fault here is your own.

6. In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken my praises among the Vajjians,¹ saying²: Thus is the Exalted One; he is an Arahant fully awakened; wisdom he has and righteousness; he is the Well-Farer³; he has knowledge of the worlds; he is the supreme driver of men willing to be tamed; the teacher of devas⁴ and men; the Awakened and Exalted One. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of me.

In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Dhamma among the Vajjians: Well proclaimed by the Exalted One is the Dhamma as bearing on this present life, not involving time,⁵ in-

¹ Vajji-gāme, literally, in the village—*i.e.*, says the Comy. of the Vajjian-rājas (free men) at Vesālī.

² The following three paragraphs are the stock passages for the description of a Buddha, his Dhamma, and his Sangha respectively. See A. VI, 57; S. IV, 41 etc.

³ Sugata. It is curious that this, after Buddha, the awakened, should be the epithet most frequently used as a name of the founder of Buddhism. That is so, both in the ancient texts and in the more modern commentaries. See above, II, 242-5, 265. See also below, Chap. II, § 7 f.; Suttanta XXXI, § 6 etc.; Sutta-Nipāta Comy. I, 43.

⁴ We judge that while the word *deva* is applicable also to conceptions of divinity, its essential meaning, in Indian literature, is rather that of other-world nature than of superhuman nature. We in the next world are *deva*'s. Spirit alone can roughly and inadequately parallel this wide denotation. See I, 115, n. 1.

⁵ The definitions of *akālika* by Buddhaghosa elsewhere and Dhammapāla hardly justify our previous renderings of this word. See Kindred Sayings, I, 15, n. 2; Pss. ¹6 of the Brethren, 314, n. 1.

viting all to come and see,¹ to be understood by every wise man for himself. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of the Dhamma.

In many ways have you, Sunakkhatta, spoken the praises of the Order among the Vajjians: Well are they trained, the Order of the Exalted One's disciples, even the four branches thereof. The eight classes of individuals² well trained in uprightness, in principles and in courtesy. This Order should be respected and revered; gifts should be given it, and homage; for it is the world's unsurpassed field (for sowing) merit. In such wise have you been wont, among the Vajjians, to utter praise of the Order.

I tell you Sunakkhatta, I make known to you Sunakkhatta, that there will be those that shall say concerning you thus: Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis was not able to live the holy life under Gotama the recluse. And he, not being able to adhere to it, hath renounced the discipline and turned to lower things.

[6] Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and purgatory.

7. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying among the Bumu's. Uttarakā is a village of theirs, and having dressed early one morning, I afterwards took my bowl, put on my robe, and went into Uttarakā for alms. Now, at that time, a cynic there, Bandylegs the Khattiya,³ was wont to behave like a dog, walking on all fours,⁴

¹ Ehi-passiko: come-see-ish.

² The branches are brethren and sisters, laymen and laywomen. The eight classes refer to the four Paths and four stages of Fruition—i.e., the *spiritual condition* of the four branches.

³ * Kora-khattiyo kukkura-vatiko. Buddhaghosa explains kora as a nickname, having the feet turned in. See M. I, 387; Netti 99; Jāt. I, 389, and compare Rh. D.'s Buddhist India, 245.

⁴ Catukunṭhiko as in M. I, 79. The Comy. reads catukonṭhiko, which it paraphrases by catusanghathito, and explains by walks, resting the knees and elbows on the earth.

or sprawling on the ground and taking up food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only (without using his hands).

Sunakkhatta, seeing him act thus, thought: How truly admirable does he look, the holy man, the recluse creeping on all fours, or sprawling on the ground, taking up food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only. Then I, Bhaggava, knowing what was in his mind, said to him: Do you, O foolish man, confess yourself as following the son of the Sākiyas?

What does the Exalted One mean, Sir, in [7] saying this to me?

Did you not think, Sunakkhatta, as you looked at that naked Cynic, Kora the Khattiya, on all fours, sprawling on the earth, taking up his food, whether hard or soft, with his mouth only: How admirable were it to be a holy man like that?

Yes, lord, I did. What then! Does the Exalted One begrudge Arahantship in others?¹

Nay, foolish man. I begrudge in no one Arahantship. It is only in you that this vicious opinion has arisen. Put it away. Let it not become a lasting source of harm and ill to you. This naked cynic, Kora the Khattiya, whom you, Sunakkhatta, fancy so admirable an arahant, will die seven days hence of an epilepsy,² and dying he will be reborn as one of the Kālakaṇḍas,³ the very lowest of the Asura groups. As dead, he will be laid out on a heap of bīraṇa grass in the charnel field. You might go up to him, if you wish, and ask him: Do you know your own destiny, friend Kora? Perchance he will reply: I know my own

¹ The Comy. paraphrases by mā añṇassa arahattan hotūti—May no one else (except me and mine) be Arahants. Arahant in common non-Buddhist usage was simply holy man. (Dhp. A. l. 400; Psalms of the Sisters, 130).

² Alasakena: is this a negative of lasikā, the synovial fluid (p. 100)?

³ On these see Vol. II, p. 289:

The Kālakaṇḍas all
Of fearsome shape. . . .

destiny, friend Sunakkhatta. There are Asuras called Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups—'tis among them I am reborn.

8. Thereat, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, went up to the cynic, Kora the Khattiya, and spake thus to him: Friend Kora the Khattiya, the Samaṇa Gotama has declared that on the seventh day hence, the naked ascetic, Kora the Khattiya, will die, and dying [8] he will be reborn as one of the Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups. As dead, he will be laid on a heap of biraṇa grass in the charnel field. Wherefore, friend Kora the Khattiya, you should partake of food with great moderation; you should drink liquids with great moderation; so that the word of the Samaṇa Gotama may prove wrong. Then Sunakkhatta, so firmly did he disbelieve the Tathāgata, counted up the seven days one after another; but, Bhaggava, on the seventh day, Kora the Khattiya died of an epilepsy, and dying was reborn as had been foretold; and as dead, was laid out as had been foretold.

9. Now Sunakkhatta heard, Bhaggava, that Kora the Khattiya lay dead in the charnel field on a heap of biraṇa grass. And he went thither where the corpse was lying, and thrice he smote the naked ascetic with his hand, saying: Do you know, friend Kora the Khattiya, what has been your destiny? Then Bhaggava, Kora the Khattiya, rubbing his back with his hand, raised himself up and said: I know, friend Sunakkhatta, what is my destiny. Among the Kālakañjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups—there am I reborn. So saying, he fell back supine.¹

10. Thereupon, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to me, and saluting me, sat down beside me. So

¹ It may be interesting to mention the Commentator's suspended judgment on this weird occurrence: A corpse is not capable of rising up and speaking. It spoke by the power of the Buddha. The Exalted One either brought back Kora the Khattiya from the Asura-womb (or form of birth, *yoni*), or he made the body speak. For the range of a Buddha is incalculable.

sitting, I spake to him thus : What think you, Sunakkhatta ? Has it happened to the cynic, Kora the Khattiya, even as I declared to you, or otherwise ?

It has happened to him even as the Exalted One declared to me, not otherwise.

[9] What think you, Sunakkhatta ? This being so, has a mystic wonder by power beyond that of ordinary men been wrought, or has it not ?

Surely, sir, this being so, such a mystic wonder has been wrought.¹

And is it then to me, you foolish man, who have thus by power beyond that of ordinary men, wrought a mystic wonder, that you say : Sir, the Exalted one works me no miracles with his superhuman gifts ? See, foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

11. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying at Vesālī, in the Great Wood, at the Gable Hall. Now at that time there was a naked ascetic residing at Vesālī, named Kandara-masuka,² and great was his gain and his fame in the Vajjian home. He had vowed and taken upon himself seven rules of life, to wit : So long as I live I will be of the Naked Ascetics, I will put on no garment ; so long as I live, I will be a devotee, devoted to a life of chastity ; so long as I live, I will maintain myself by spirituous drink and by flesh, eating no rice-broth or gruel ; I will never go beyond the Udena shrine on the east of Vesālī ; the Gotamaka shrine on the south ; the Sattamba shrine on the west, [10] and the Bahuputta shrine on the north. It was because of his having laid

¹ Five miracles, reckons the Comy. : The date of death foretold ; the illness ; the rebirth ; the birana-bier indicated ; the speaking corpse.

² The MSS. give the name also as Kalāra- and Kaḷara-maṭṭaka and -maṭṭhaka and -matthuka and -masukha, but it has not, so far, been met with elsewhere

upon himself these seven rules of life that he had gain and fame beyond all others in the Vajjian home.

12. Now, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta of the Licchavis went to call on Kandara-masuka and asked him a question. Kandara-masuka did not follow the question, and not following, manifested resentment, dislike, and anger. Then it occurred to Sunakkhatta: We might come into conflict with¹ the admirable arahant recluse. Let nothing happen that would make for lasting harm and ill to us.

13. Thereupon, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to call upon me, and saluting me, he sat down beside me and thus I spake to him: Do you, O foolish man, still confess yourself as following the son of the Sākiyas?

What does the Exalted One mean in saying that?

Why, Sunakkhatta, did you not go up to the naked ascetic, Kandara-masuka and ask him a question which he did not follow, and over which he manifested anger, dislike, and resentment? And did it not occur to you: We might come into conflict with the admirable arahant and recluse. Let nothing happen that would make for lasting harm and ill to us?

It was even so, Sir. Does the Exalted One begrudge arahantship in anyone?

[11] Nay, foolish man, I begrudge in no one Arahantship. To you only has this vicious opinion arisen. Get rid of it. Let that not make for lasting harm and ill to you. This naked ascetic Kandara-masuka, whom you think so admirable an arahant recluse, will ere long end his days clothed and married, his diet rice-broth and rice-gruel; his range past all shrines in Vesālī, and he will die fallen from his fame.

And ere long, Bhaggava, that ascetic ended his days (even as I had foretold).

¹ Āsādimhase. Comy. āsādiyimhase, āsādiyimha, ghaṭṭayimha. Dhammapāla paraphrases the word āhari with this verb. See Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 387, n. 3, 419.

14. Now Sunakkhatta heard that Kandara-masuka, the ascetic, had died (as I had foretold). Thereupon he came to call upon me, and saluting me, he sat down beside me, and I spake to him thus: What think you, Sunakkhatta? Has it happened to the naked ascetic, Kandara-masuka, even as I declared to you, or otherwise?

It has happened to him even as the Exalted One declared to me, not otherwise.

What think you, Sunakkhatta? This being so, [12] has a mystic wonder by power surpassing that of ordinary men been wrought, or has none been wrought?

Surely, Sir, this being so, such a mystic wonder ~~has~~ been wrought.¹

And is it then to me, you foolish man, who have thus by power surpassing that of ordinary men, wrought a mystic wonder, that you say: Sir, the Exalted One works no such mystic wonder. See, foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

15. At one time, Bhaggava, I was staying there at Vesālī, in the Great Wood, at the Gable Hall. Now at that time, the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son,² was residing at Vesālī, and great was his gain and his fame in the Vajjian home. He held forth thus in the Vesālī assemblies:

Both the Samaṇa Gotama and I affirm that we have insight. Now it becomes one who affirms this to show, in virtue of his insight, mystic wonders, by his extraordinary gifts. If the Samaṇa Gotama would come half-way, I would meet him half-way. Then we could both work a mystic wonder by our extraordinary gifts. If the Samaṇa Gotama work one such mystic wonder,

¹ *Seven* mystic wonders, says the Conty.—viz., of prophecy: one for each of the seven rules broken by the ascetic, as predicted.

² In Jāt. I, 389, the Buddha is said to have been staying in Pāṭika's Park, during the Kora episode. Cf. also Jāt. I, 77.

I will work two. If he work two, I will work four [13]. If he will work four, I will work eight. Thus, to whatever extent he may perform, I will perform double.

16. Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to call on me, and saluting me, sat down beside me. And so seated, told me all this. And when he had thus spoken, Bhaggava, I said to Sunakkhatta: Incompetent, Sunakkhatta, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder.

17. Let the Exalted One take heed to what he says. Let the Wellfarer take heed to what he says.

[14] What mean you, Sunakkhatta, that you say this to me?

It may be, sir, that the Exalted One's words convey an absolute statement respecting what would happen, in any case, to Pāṭika's son, should he, as such, come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama. But Pāṭika's son might come in an altered shape¹ to meet the Exalted One, and that would render the Exalted One's words false.

18. Now, Sunakkhatta, would a Tathāgata utter any speech that was ambiguous?

Well now, Sir, is it by the Exalted One's own discernment that he knows what would happen to Pāṭika's son were he to meet the Samaṇa Gotama face to face; or has some deva announced this matter to the Tathāgata?

I have both discerned it in my mind, Sunakkhatta, and a deva has also announced it to me [15]. For Ajita, general of the Licchavis, who died the other day, has been reborn in the realm of the Three-and-Thirty. He came to me and declared this to me: Shameless, Sir, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son; a liar, Sir, is Pāṭika's

¹ He might, explains the Comy., assume an invisible body, or the shape of a lion, or tiger, etc.

son. He made this statement concerning me among the Vajjians: Ajita, the general of the Licchavis, is reborn in the Great Purgatory. But I am not reborn there, sir; I am reborn in the realm of the Thirty-and-Three. Shameless is Pāṭika's son, Sir, and a liar; incompetent is he to meet Samaṇa Gotama face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder. Thus, Sunakkhatta, have I both discerned this in my mind, and a deva has also told it me. Now Sunakkhatta, when I have gone to Vesālī on my round for alms, and have dined, and am on the way back, I will go to Pāṭika's son's Park. Tell him, then, Sunakkhatta, whatever you think right.

[16] 19. Then I, Bhaggava, having dressed early, and taken my bowl and robe, entered Vesālī for alms. And after my meal, as I returned, I went into Pāṭika's son's park for siesta. Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, in a great hurry, went into Vesālī, and went to all the most distinguished of the Licchavis and told them saying: Friends, that Exalted One, on returning from his round for alms, and after dining, has gone to Pāṭika's son's park for siesta. Come forth, sirs, come forth. There is going to be wonder-working by the superhuman gifts of admirable recluses. Then those most distinguished among the Licchavis thought: Is that so? Come then, let's go. And wherever there were eminent brahmins and wealthy householders of position,¹ who had become Wanderers or brahmins of different sects, there he went (and told them the same thing, and they also determined to go). [17] So, Bhaggava, those eminent Licchavis and distinguished brahmins and wealthy householders of position, now Wanderers or brahmins of different sects, all repaired to the park of the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son. And

¹ *Necayikā*; *nicaya*, storing up. Ang. v, 149, 364. Neither at D. I, 136, nor here does Buddhaghosa give any help.

they formed an assembly of several hundred, nay, of several thousand persons.

20. Now Pāṭika's son heard that all these people were come out and that the Samaṇa Gotama himself was sitting, during siesta, in his park, and hearing of it, fear came upon him and trembling and creeping of the flesh. And thus afeared, agitated, and in dread, he went away to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park.

Then that company, Bhaggava, heard that he had gone thither in a panic, and they charged a certain man, saying: Come, my man, go to the Tinduka Pollards and find Pāṭika's son, the naked ascetic, and say this to him: We have come out, friend Pāṭika's son; there are come out many distinguished Licchavis and brahmins and wealthy householders, and various teachers among brahmins and recluses. And the Samaṇa Gotama himself is sitting, during siesta, in your reverence's park. You, friend Pāṭika's son, have delivered this speech in the assembly at Vesāli: Both the Samaṇa Gotama and I affirm that we have insight. Now one who affirms this is fit, in virtue of his insight, to show mystic wonders with his superhuman gifts [18]. If the Samaṇa Gotama would come halfway, I would meet him halfway. There we could both work mystic wonders by our superhuman gifts. And whatever number of mystic wonders he may work, I will work twice as many. Come forth then half-way, friend Pāṭika's son; the Samaṇa Gotama has come all the first half and is seated in your reverence's park for siesta.

21. Very good, said that man, consenting, and he went to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son, and gave him the message. When this was told him, Bhaggava, the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, saying: I am coming, [19] friend, I am coming, writhed about then and there and was unable to rise from his seat. Then said the man to him: How now, friend Pāṭika's son? Are your hams stuck to your seat, or is your seat stuck to your hams? You

say : I am coming, friend, I am coming, yet you writhe about and are not able to rise from your seat. And though this was said to him, Pāṭika's son repeated : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but only writhed about, unable to rise.

22. Now when the man recognized Pāṭika's son's discomfiture, hearing his words and seeing his incapacity, he went to the assembly and told them, saying : The naked ascetic Pāṭika's son seems discomfited. He says : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he only writhes about as he sits and is unable to get up.

At these words, Bhaggava, I said to the assembly : Incompetent, friends, is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face, if he withdraw not those words, if he put not away that idea, if he renounce not that opinion. If he thinks that, holding to those words, to that idea, maintaining that opinion, he would come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder.

(Here ends the first chapter for recitation.)

2. 1. Thereupon, Bhaggava, a certain councillor of the Licchavis rose from his seat and addressed the meeting : Well then, gentlemen, wait a while [20] till I go and see whether I am able to bring the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to this assembly. Then that councillor went to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son and summoned him to attend, even as the first messenger had done, ending with these words : Come forth, friend Pāṭika's son. If you come we will make you the victor, and cause the Samaṇa Gotama to lose.

2. And Pāṭika's son, Bhaggava, responded as before [21], even when the councillor rallied him as the first messenger had done.

3. Now when the councillor recognized the ascetic's discomfiture, hearing his words and seeing his incapacity, he came to the meeting and told them, saying : The naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, seems discomfited.

He says : I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he writhes about as he sits and is unable to get up.

And when he had thus said, Bhaggava, I spake to the meeting and told them again : Incompetent is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son . . . (as before, p. 17, § 16.) Even if it occurred to my noble friends the Licchavis : Let us bind Pāṭika's son with thongs and drag him hither with ox-yokes, Pāṭika's son would break those thongs. Incompetent is the ascetic, Pāṭika's son to meet me . . . (etc., as before).

4. Thereupon, Bhaggava, Jāliya, pupil of Wooden-Bowl¹ rose from his seat and spoke thus to the meeting : Well then, gentlemen, wait awhile till I go and see whether I am able to bring the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to this assembly. Then Bhaggava, Jāliya, Wooden-Bowl's pupil, went to the Tinduka Pollards, the Wanderers' Park, found Pāṭika's son, and summoned him to attend (even as the councillor had done [22], and with the same results).

5. Now when Jāliya, Wooden-Bowl's pupil, recognized the ascetic's discomfiture, he spake to him thus : Long ago, friend Pāṭika's son, this idea occurred to the lion, king of the beasts :² What if I were to make my lair near a certain jungle, so that in the evening I could issue from my lair, and stretch myself and survey the landscape, and thrice roar a lion's roar, and go forth towards the cattle pastures. I could slay the pick of the herd of beasts, feast on a continual diet of tender flesh, and get me back to that same lair. Then the lion, friend, chose his lair, and (did according to his desire [24]).

7. Now, friend Pāṭika's son, there was an old jackal who had continually thriven on the remains of that lion's food, and was stout and strong, and it occurred

¹ See Dialogues I, 202.

² Not without interest is the commentator's remark : There are four kinds of lions—the grass lion, the black, the tawny, and the hairy (*kesava*) lion. The last is the greatest and is the kind here meant.

to him:¹ Who am I, and who is Lion, king of the beasts? What if I were to choose my lair near a certain jungle, so that in the evening I could issue from my lair, and stretch myself and survey the landscape, and thrice roar a lion's roar, and go forth towards the cattle pastures? I could slay the pick of the herd of beasts, feast on a continual diet of tender flesh, and get me back to that same lair. Now, friend, that old jackal chose his lair and (did according to his desire). And coming forth in the evening and stretching himself, and surveying the landscape, he thought: Thrice will I roar a lion's roar, and thereat he roared a jackal's howl, a vulpine howl. Would you compare a vile jackal's howl with a lion's roar?² Even so, you, friend Pātika's son, living among the exploits³ of the Wellfarer, feeding on food left over after the Wellfarer has been served, fancy you can reach up to those who are⁴ Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme! Why, what have wretched Pātika's sons in common with Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme?

8. Now since Jāliya, Bhaggava, was unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he went on:

[25] The jackal on himself reflecting deemed:
The lion I! I am the king of beasts!
And so he roared—a puny jackal's whine,
For what is there in common 'twixt the twain—
The scurvy jackal and the lion's roar?

Even so do you, friend Pātika's son, living among

¹ Because of his *asmi-māno* is the comment—his I-am conceit.

² On the idiom *ke ca . . . ke ca* (cf. M. III, 209) the Comy. has *ko ca . . . ko paṇa . . . sigālassa ca sihanādassa ko sambandho ti adhippāyo*. The Papanca Sūdani has no corresponding comment.

³ Comy.—i.e. on the *lakkhaṇa*'s, on the religious achievements of the Sugata in the threefold training.

⁴ *Āsādetabban*. Comy.: This term covering many things is spoken as if there were but one.

the exploits of the Wellfarer, feeding on the offerings set aside for the Wellfarer, you fancy things that are to be set up against Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme. Why, what have wretched Pāṭika's sons in common with Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme?

9. Now, Bhaggava, since Jāliya was unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he said this to him :

Roaming the pleasant woods, seeing himself
Grown fat on scraps, until he sees himself no more,¹
A tiger I ! the jackal deems himself.
But lo ! he roars—a puny jackal's howl.
For what is there in common 'twixt the twain :
The scurvy jackal and the lion's roar ?

Even so do you, friend Pāṭika's son, living among the exploits of the Wellfarer, feeding on food set aside for the Wellfarer, fancy you can set yourself up against Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme ! Why, what have wretched Pāṭika's sons in common with the Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme ?

10. Now, Bhaggava, since Jāliya was [26] unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he went on thus :

Feeding on frogs, on barnfloor mice, and on
The corpses laid apart in charnel-field,
In the great forest, in the lonely wood
The jackal throve and fancied vain conceits :
The lion, King of all the beasts am I !
But when he roared—a puny jackal's whine.
For what is there in common 'twixt the twain—
The scurvy jackal and the lion's roar ?

Even so you, friend Pāṭika's son, living among the exploits of the Wellfarer, feeding on food set aside for the Wellfarer, fancy things that are to be set up against Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas

¹ The reading is here very uncertain.

Supreme. What have wretched Pāṭika's sons in common with rivals of Tathāgatas, Arahants, Buddhas Supreme?

11. Now, Bhaggava, since Jāliya was unable, even by this parable, to make the ascetic leave his seat, he went back to the meeting and told them, saying: The naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, seems discomfited. He says: I am coming, friend, I am coming, but he writhes about as he sits, and is unable to get up.

12. And when he had thus said, Bhaggava, I spake to the meeting as before: Incompetent is the naked ascetic, Pāṭika's son, to meet me face to face. . . . If he thinks that . . . he could come to meet the Samaṇa Gotama, his head would split asunder. If it occurred to my noble friends, the Licchavis: Let us bind Pāṭika's son with thongs [27] and drag him hither with ox-yokes, Pāṭika's son would break those thongs. Incompetent is he to meet me face to face . . . if he could come, his head would split asunder.

13. Thereupon, Bhaggava, I taught, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened¹ that company with religious discourse. And when I had so done, and had set them at liberty from the great bondage,² had drawn forth eighty-four thousand creatures from the great abyss,³ I entered on jhāna by the method of flame, rose into the air to the height of seven palm trees, projected a flame the height of another seven palm trees, so that it blazed and glowed; and then I reappeared in the Great Wood, at the Gabled Hall.

Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta, the Licchavi, came to call on me, and saluting, he sat down beside me. To him, so sitting, I said: What think you of it, Sunakkhatta? Has it fared with Pāṭika's son as I declared unto you, and not otherwise?

It has fared with him even as the lord, the Exalted One, declared unto me, and not otherwise.

¹ On this formula cf. Kindred Sayings I, 140, n. 4.

² Of the Kilesa's. Comy.: Cf. Bud. Psych. Ethics, p. 327.

³ Mahāvidugga—i.e. of the four Floods. Comy. Cf. A. I, 35, nadi-vidugga.

What think you of it, Sunakkhatta? If it be even so, has a mystic wonder through superhuman gifts been wrought, or has none been wrought?

Verily, Sir, it being even so, a mystic wonder through superhuman gifts has been wrought indeed.

Even so do you, you foolish man, say of me [28] working mystic wonders by superhuman gifts: The lord, the Exalted One, works no mystic wonder with his superhuman gifts. Behold, O foolish man, how far you have committed yourself.

Thus, Bhaggava, did Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, addressed by me, depart from this Doctrine and Discipline, as one doomed to disaster and to purgatory.

14. The ultimate beginning of things,¹ I know, Bhaggava, and I know not only that, but more than that.² And while I know that, I do not pervert it.³ And as one not perverting it, I even of myself have understood that Peace,⁴ the which realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins who declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was the work of an overlord, of Brahmā. To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was the work of an overlord, of Brahmā? And they, so questioned, have answered: Ay. And then I have said: But how do the reverend teachers declare in their traditional opinion, that the beginning of things as the work of an overlord, of Brahmā was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they

¹ Aggañña—i.e. according to the Comy., lokuppatticariyavaṃsa: the history of the genesis and course of the world. See above p. 9, n. 1.

² Uttaritara—i.e. starting from virtue and concentration, I know even up to omniscient insight. Comy.

³ By way of craving, opinion and conceit. Comy.

⁴ Nibbuti, which Buddhaghosa explains by kilesa-nibbāna.

asked it of me as a counter-question. To whom I, being asked, have made answer :

15. There comes a time,¹ friends, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long epoch, the world is dissolved and evolved. When this takes place, beings have mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance. There they dwell, made of mind, feeding on rapture, radiating light from themselves, traversing space, continuing in beauty, and thus they remain—for a long, long period of time.

Now there comes also a time, friends, when, sooner or later, this world-system begins to re-evolve. When this happens, the abode of the Brahmās appears, but it is empty. [29] And some being or other, either because his span of years has passed, or because his merit is exhausted, deceases from that world of Radiance,² and comes to life in the abode of the Brahmās. And there also he lives, made of mind, feeding on rapture, radiating light from himself, traversing space, continuing in beauty; and thus does he remain for a long, long period of time. Now there arises in him, from his dwelling there so long alone, a dissatisfaction and a longing: Oh, would that other beings too might come to join me in this place! And just then, either because their span of years had passed, or because their merit was exhausted, other beings fall from the world of Radiance and appear in the abode of the Brahmās as companions to him; and in all respects, they lead a life like his.

16. On this, friends, that being who was first reborn thinks thus: I am Brahmā, the great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, the All-Seeing, the Disposer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief, the Assigner, Master of myself, the Father of all that are and are to be.³ By me are these beings created.

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 30.

² This, the Ābhassara-devaloka, ranked, in the cosmogony adopted (or put forth) by Buddhism, as the third celestial stage above that of the Great Brahmā devaloka.

³ See Vol. I, pp. 31, 281.

And why is that so? A while ago I thought: Would that other beings too might come to this state of being! Such was the aspiration of my mind, and lo! these beings did come.

And those beings themselves who arose after him, they too think thus: This worthy must be Brahmā, the great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, the Unvanquished, the All-Seeing, the Disposer, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator, the Chief, the Assigner, Master of himself, the Father of all that are and are to be. By this Brahmā have we, good sirs, been created. And why is that so? Because he, as we see, arose here first, but we arose after him.

[30] 17. On this, friends, that being who first arose becomes longer lived, handsomer, and more powerful, but those who appeared after him become shorter lived, less comely, less powerful. And it might well be, friends, that some other being, on deceasing from that state, should come to this state [on earth]. So come, he might go forth from the household life into the homeless state. And having thus gone forth, by reason of ardour, effort, devotion, earnestness, perfected intellection,¹ he reaches up to such rapt concentration, that with rapt mind he calls to mind his former dwelling-place, but remembers not what went before. He says thus: That worshipful Brahmā, that great Brahmā, the Vanquisher, Unvanquished, All-Seeing, Disposer, Lord, Maker, Creator, Chief, Assigner, Master of himself, Father of all that are and are to be, he by whom we were created, he is permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and he will remain so for ever and ever. But we who were created by that Brahmā, we have come hither all impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, destined to pass away.

Thus was appointed the beginning of things which ye, sirs, declare as your traditional doctrine; to wit, that it has been wrought by an overlord, by Brahmā.

¹ *Sa m m ā - m a n a s i k ā r a n*—a rare compound of two familiar terms.

And they have said. Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us.

But I, Bhaggava, know the beginning of things . . . and have understood that Peace, which realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

18. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins who declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of pleasure.¹ To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of pleasure? And they, so questioned, have answered, Ay [81]. And then have I said: But how do the reverend teachers declare in their traditional opinion, that the beginning of things as being due to a debauch of pleasure was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To them, I, on being asked, have made reply:

There are, friends, certain spirits called the Debauched-by-Pleasure. For ages they pass their time in mirth and sport of sensual lusts. In consequence thereof their self-control is corrupted, and thereby those devas de cease from that state.

Now it might well be, friends, that some being or other, on deceasing from that state, should come hither, and that, having come hither, he should go forth from the household life into the homeless state. As a recluse he might . . . acquire the power of recollecting his previous birth, but not what preceded it.² And he would say to himself: Those worshipful spirits who are not debauched-by-pleasure, they have not, for ages, passed their time in the mirth and sport of sensual lusts. Hence is their self-control not corrupted. Hence they de cease not from their estate, but are

¹ Khiddā-padūsika-mūlakan. Comy.: Cf. Part I, p. 32; Part II, p. 291.

² This is told verbatim as the preceding episode, § 17. Compare also above Vol. I, pp. 32, 33.

permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and will so remain for ever and ever. But we who were pleasure-debauched, we did pass our time for ages in the mirth and sport of sensual lusts, whereby our self-control became corrupted, so that we deceased from that estate, and are come to this form of life impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, deciduous. Thus was appointed [82] the beginning of things which ye declare as being due to a debauch of pleasure.

And they have said : Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us. But I, Bhaggava, know the beginning of things . . . and have understood that Peace which, realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

19. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins, who declare as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of mind. To these have I gone and said : Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was owing to a debauch of mind ? And they, so questioned, have answered : Ay. And then have I said : But how do the reverend teachers declare, in their opinion, that the beginning of things as being due to a debauch of mind was appointed ? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To whom I, being asked, have made answer :

There are, friends, certain spirits called the Debauched-in-Mind.¹ For ages they burn with mutual envy ; hence their thoughts regarding each other become depraved. Hence their bodies become feeble and their minds imbecile. They de cease from that estate. Now it might well be, friends, that some being or other, de ceasing from that estate, should come hither, and being hither come, should go forth from the household life into the homeless state. As a recluse

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 33, n. 1.

he might . . . acquire the power of recollecting his previous birth, but not that which went before. And he would say to himself: Those worshipful devas who are not debauched in mind, they have not for ages been burning with mutual envy. Hence their thoughts regarding each other have not become depraved. Hence have their bodies not become feeble, nor their minds imbecile. Those devas [33] de cease not from that estate, but are permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, and will so remain for ever and ever. But we who were debauched in mind, we did pass the time for ages burning with mutual envy, whereby our thoughts about each other became depraved, our bodies feeble, our minds imbecile. And we have deceased from that estate and are come hither, impermanent, transient, unstable, short-lived, deciduous. Thus was appointed the beginning of things which ye declare as being due to debauch of mind.

And they have said: Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us, but I, Bhaggava, know the beginnings of things . . . and have understood that Peace which, realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

20. There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins, who declare it as their doctrine, that the beginning of things was by chance.¹ To them have I gone and said: Is it indeed true that the reverend teachers declare it as their traditional doctrine, that the beginning of things was by chance? And they, so questioned, have answered, Ay. Then have I said to them: But how do the reverend teachers declare that the beginning of things by chance, which you teach, was appointed? They, so asked by me, were unable to go any further into that matter, and in their confusion they asked it of me instead as a counter-question. To whom, I, being asked, have made answer:

There are, friends, certain spirits called Unconscious

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 41: Fortuitous Originists.

Beings.¹ As soon as an idea occurs to them they de cease from that estate. Now it may well be, friends, that some being or other having so deceased, comes to this form of life, and so come, goes forth from the household life into the homeless state. As a recluse he . . . might acquire the power of recollecting his previous life, but not that which preceded it. And he would say to himself: Fortuitous in origin are the soul and the world. And why so? [84] Because formerly I was not, now, having non-existed, I am changed into being. Thus was appointed the beginning of things as being due to chance, which you venerable teachers declare as your doctrine.

And they have said: Even so have we heard, friend Gotama, as the reverend Gotama has told us. But I, Bhaggava, know the beginning of things, and I know not only that, but more than that. And knowing it, I do not pervert it. And not perverting it, I, even of myself, have understood that Peace which, realizing, a Tathāgata can fall into no error.

21. Now I, Bhaggava, being of such an opinion, certain recluses and brahmins have falsely, emptily, mendaciously and unfairly accused me, saying: Gotama, the recluse, is all wrong,² and so are his bhikkhus. He has said: Whenever one has attained to the stage of deliverance,³ entitled the Beautiful, one then considers all things as repulsive.

¹ To these *Asañña satta* were assigned a celestial realm in the *Rūpaloka* only below the highest (*Akanittha*) and the next below that (the Pure Abodes). See *Compendium of Philosophy* (Pali Text Soc., 1910), pp. 136, 142, 167. The exceptional nature of these beings, figuring in the *Rūpaloka*, where, at least, sight, hearing, and mind were ascribed to the variously staged denizens, affords a fertile field for the quasi-logical exercises of the *Yamaka* catechisms—e.g. the *Khandha*, *Āyatana*, *Yamakas*, etc.—q.v. (P.T.S., 1911); below, 244, n. 1.

² *Viparīta*, literally who has gone the wrong way.

³ The third stage, see p. 119 of Part II, where *subhanti* is rendered 'It is well.' We have no word exactly rendering *subha*, lit. that which is pleasing to the eye; a *subha* being anything repulsive or ugly. *Buddhaghosa* calls this stage the colour- (or beauty-) artifice—*vaṇṇakasiṇam*.

But this, Bhaggava, I have not said. What I do say is this : Whenever one attains to the stage of deliverance, entitled the Beautiful, one is then aware 'Tis lovely !

[35] But it is they, lord, that are all wrong, who impute to the Exalted One and to his bhikkhus that they err. So delighted am I with the Exalted One that I believe he is able so to teach me that I may attain to and remain in the stage of deliverance, entitled the Beautiful.

Hard is it, Bhaggava, for you, holding, as you do, different views, other things approving themselves to you, you setting different aims before yourself, striving after a different aim, trained in a different system,¹ to attain to and abide in the deliverance that is beautiful. Look therefore to it, Bhaggava, that you foster well this faith of yours in me.

If, Sir, it be hard for me, holding different views, other things approving themselves to me, I setting different aims before myself, striving after a different aim, trained in a different system, to attain to and abide in the deliverance that is beautiful, then will I, at least, foster well my faith in the Exalted One.

These things spake the Exalted One. And Bhaggavagotta, the Wanderer, pleased in heart, took delight in his words.²

(The Pāṭika Suttanta is ended.)

¹ Cf. Vol. I, 254. The Comy. refers also to this parallel in the Potthapāda Suttanta.

² Buddhaghosa judges that this was merely affected appreciation. But we are not told anything of the later history of this man.

[36] XXV. UDUMBARIKĀ SĪHANĀDA-SUTTANTA.

(*The Lion's Roar to the Udumbarikans.*)

ON ASCETICISM.

THUS have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha, on the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time there was sojourning in Queen Udumbarikā's Park assigned to the Wanderers the Wanderer Nigrodha,¹ together with a great company of Wanderers, even three thousand. Now the householder Sandhāna went forth in the afternoon from Rājagaha to call on the Exalted One. Then it occurred to him : It is not timely to call just now on the Exalted One ; he will be in retirement. Nor is it the hour for calling on the brethren who are practising mind-culture ; they will be in retirement. What if I were to go to Udumbarikā's Park and find out Nigrodha, the Wanderer ? And Sandhāna did so.

2. Now at that time Nigrodha the Wanderer was seated with his large company, all talking with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish²

¹ Pronounce Nigrô'dha. The conversation reported in this Suttanta is referred to above, I, 239.

² *Tiracchāna-kathā*, literally animal-talk, but the adjective 'animal' as applied to talk is meaningless to Europeans. Brutish, brutal, beastly would all be literal, but very bad renderings. The fact is that the mental attitude of Indians towards animals is quite different from our own. They regard animals as on a lower plane indeed than men, but different (not in kind), only in degree. They take for granted the very real relationship between men and animals which we fail to realize, and often deny. The phrase animal-talk is therefore untranslatable. Buddhaghosa (Sum. I, 89) says, not leading to heaven or to emancipation. This is good exegesis of the whole passage, but throws little light on the exact connotation of the particular phrase animal-talk. It was translated above at I, 13 by low, and at I, 245 by worldly. Neither of these gives the exact force of the

talk of various kinds, to wit : tales of kings, robbers [87] and state officials ; tales of armies, panics, and battles ; talk about foods and drinks, and clothes, beds, garlands, and perfumes ; talks about relatives ; talks about carriages, villages, towns, cities, and countries ; talks about women ;¹ talks of heroes ; gossip from street-corners and the places for drawing water ; ghost-stories ; desultory talk ; speculative talk on the world and the sea ; on existence and non-existence.

3. And Nigrodha the Wanderer saw the householder Sandhāna approaching in the distance, and called his own company to order, saying : Be still, sirs, and make no noise. Here is a disciple of the Samaṇa Gotama coming, the householder Sandhāna. Whatever white-robed lay disciples of Gotama there be dwelling at Rājagaha, this Sandhāna is one of them. Now these good gentlemen delight in quiet ; they are trained in quiet ; they speak in praise of quiet. How well it were if, seeing how quiet the assembly is, he should see fit to join us. And when he spake thus, the Wanderers kept silence.

4. Now the householder Sandhāna came on to where Nigrodha the Wanderer was, and exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of civility and courtesy, and sat down beside him. So seated, Sandhāna said to Nigrodha : Different is the way in which these reverend Wanderers, holding views of their own, talk when they have met and are come together, from the practice of the Exalted One. They talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish

original, which must be akin to childish. For as the child is to the man with us now, so then in India (only one stage removed) was the animal to the man.

¹ Here the Sinhalese MSS. again (as above I, 13) omit *purisa-kathan*—talk about men, the Siamese and Burmese modern printed editions inserting it. Probability is all on the side of the Sinhalese. From the male standpoint, *all* the other subjects are about Ourselves, directly or indirectly, i.e. in relation to this or that ; *itthi-kathā* is about Ourselves in relation to women. Hence, to add talks about men is entirely redundant and a later gloss.

talk of various kinds (to wit . . . [88] on existence and non-existence). But the Exalted One haunts the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where the breezes from the pastures blow,¹ yet which are hidden from the eyes of men, suitable for self-communing.

5. And when Sandhāna had spoken, Nigrodha to him made answer: Look you now, householder, know you with whom the Samaṇa Gotama talks? With whom he holds conversation? By intercourse with whom does he attain to lucidity in wisdom?² The Samaṇa Gotama's insight is ruined by his habit of seclusion. He is not at home in conducting an assembly. He is not ready in conversation. He is occupied only with the fringes of things.³ Even as a one-eyed cow that, walking in a circle, follows only the outskirts, so is the Samaṇa Gotama. Why forsooth, householder, if the Samaṇa Gotama were to come to this assembly, with a single question only could we settle him; yea, methinks we could roll him over like an empty pot.

[89] 6. Now the Exalted One heard with his clair-audient sense of hearing, pure, and surpassing that of man, this conversation between Sandhāna the householder and Nigrodha the Wanderer. And descending

¹ *Vijānavātāni*. Both reading and meaning are doubtful. See Rhys Davids' *Quest of King Milinda* I, 30; E. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, 242; H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya* I, 367. The epithet is usually applied to a residence for members of the Order, but it is also applicable to a place of meditation. Both must be near enough to the homesteads for the confidence necessary to peace of mind, and yet far enough off to be free from disturbance. The first part of the word may well have been originally from *vrjāna*, as Buddhaghosa's explanation from *jāna* seems very forced.

² Cf. M. I, 82, 175; II, 209. *Veyyattiya* = *vyatti-bhāva*. By way of reply and rejoinder with whom? says Buddhaghosa. The word is not in Childers, but see *Majjhima* I, 82, 175; II, 208-9. Perhaps we should render lucidity and wisdom.

³ *Antamantāni eva sevati*. Perhaps: 'so he keeps apart from others, in solitary places.'

from the Vulture's Peak, he came to the Peacocks' Feeding-ground on the bank of the Sumāgadhā¹ and there walked to and fro in the open air. Then Nigrodha saw him thus walking, and on seeing him he called his company to order, saying : Be still, sirs. and make no noise. The Samaṇa Gotama is walking to and fro in the open air at the Peacocks' Feeding-ground, by the bank of the Sumāgadhā. Now this good gentleman delights in quiet, speaks in praise of quiet ; how well it were if, seeing how quiet the assembly is, he should see fit to join us. If the Samaṇa Gotama should come to this assembly, we might ask him this question ; What, lord, is this religion of the Exalted one wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness ?²

When he had said this the Wanderers kept silence.

7. Then the Exalted One went up to Nigrodha the Wanderer, and Nigrodha spake thus to him : Let the lord the Exalted One approach. Welcome is the lord the Exalted One ! Long has the lord the Exalted One taken ere deciding on this step of coming hither. May it please the lord the Exalted One to take a seat. Here is one ready.

The Exalted One sat down on the seat made ready, and Nigrodha, taking a low seat, sat beside him. To him so seated the Exalted One spake thus : On what talk, Nigrodha, are ye here and now engaged as ye sit together, and what conversation between you have I interrupted ?

[40] Thereupon Nigrodha replied to the Exalted One and said : Lord, we have just seen the Exalted

¹ A lotus-pool or tank in the park. Cf. M. II, 1 ; A. I, 291 ; V, 326 as to the Peacocks' Feeding-ground in the same park.

² Ajjhāsayam ādibrahmacariyam. Cf. above, II, p. 262, n. 2. (The reference has there, by a printer's error and our oversight, been made to refer to § 10, instead of to § 12, l. 4.) In the present connexion the Comy. paraphrases ajjhāsayam by uttama-nissaya-bhūtam, and ādibrahmacariyam by The Ariyan Path termed the ancient brahmacariya (holy life).

One walking in the open air at the Peacocks' Feeding-ground, by the Sumāgadhā, and seeing him thus, we said: If the Samāṇa Gotama should come to this assembly, we could ask him this question: What, lord, is this religion of the Exalted One, wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness?

Difficult is it, Nigrodha, for one of another view, of another persuasion, of another confession, without practice and without teaching, to understand that wherein I train my disciples, and which they, so trained as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness. Come now, Nigrodha, ask me a question about your own doctrine, about austere scrupulousness of life:¹ in what does the fulfilment, in what does the non-fulfilment of these self-mortifications consist?

When he had said this, the Wanderers exclaimed loudly, with noise and clamour: Wonderful, sir! Marvellous is it, sir, the great gifts and powers of the Samāṇa Gotama in withholding his own theories and inviting the discussion of those of others!

8. Then Nigrodha bade the Wanderers be quiet, and spake thus to the Exalted One: We, lord, profess self-mortifying austerities; we hold them to be essential; we cleave to them. In what does the fulfilment, in what does the non-fulfilment of them consist?

Suppose, Nigrodha, that an ascetic² goes naked, is of certain loose habits, licks his hands, respects no Approach, sir, nor Stop, sir; [41] accepts nothing expressly brought, nor expressly prepared, nor any invitations. He accepts nothing taken from mouth of cooking-pot, nor placed within the threshold, nor within a mortar,

¹ This question is referred to above, I, 239. The catalogue of austerities is identical with the list in that Suttanta where the various practices are explained.

² *Tapaṣṣī*. One who depends on *tapaṣ*, austerities, self-mortification.

nor among sticks, nor within a quern ; nor anything from two eating together, nor from a pregnant woman, nor from a nursing mother, nor from a woman in intercourse with a man, nor food collected in drought, nor from where a dog is, nor from where flies are swarming, nor will he accept fish or meat, nor drink strong drink, or intoxicants, or gruel. He is either a one-houser, a one-mouthful man ; or a two-houser, a two-mouthful man ; or a seven-houser, a seven-mouthful man. He maintains himself on one alms, on two, or on seven. He takes food once a day, or once every two days, or once every seven days. Thus does he dwell addicted to the practice of taking food according to rule, at regular intervals, up to even half a month. He feeds either on potherbs, or wild rice, or nivāra seeds, or leather parings, or on haṭa, or on the powder in rice rusks, on rice-scum, on flour of oil-seeds, on grasses, on cowdung, on fruits and roots from the woods, [42] or on windfalls. He wears coarse hempen cloth, coarse mixture cloth, discarded corpse-cloths, discarded rags, or tirlita-bark cloth ; or again, he wears antelope-hide, or strips of the same netted, or kusa-fibre, or bark garments, or shale cloth, or a human-hair blanket, or a horse-hair blanket, or an owl's-feather garment. He is a hair-and-beard plucker, addicted to the practice of plucking out both ; a stander-up ; a croucher on heels, addicted to exerting himself (to move forward) when thus squatting ; a bed-of-thorns man, putting iron spikes or thorns on his couch ; he uses a plank-bed ; sleeps on the ground ; sleeps only on one side ; is a dust-and-dirt wearer and an open-air man ; a where-you-will sitter ; a filth-eater, addicted to the practice of eating such ; a non-drinker, addicted to the practice of never drinking (cold water) ; an evening-for-third-time-man. What think you, Nigrodha ? If these things be so, is the austerity of self-mortification carried out, or is it not ?

Truly, lord, if these things be so, the austerity of self-mortification is carried out, and not the contrary.

Now I, Nigrodha, affirm that austerity by self-

mortification, thus carried out, involves blemish¹ in several ways.

9. In what way, lord, do you affirm that blemish is involved?

In case, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he, through that course, becomes self-complacent, his aim is satisfied.² Now this, Nigrodha, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

[43] And then again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he, through that undertaking, exalts himself and despises others. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he, through that undertaking, becomes inebriated and infatuated, and grows careless. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

10. And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, it procures for him gifts, attention, and fame. Thereby he becomes complacent and his aim is satisfied. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, by the winning of gifts, attentions, and fame, the ascetic exalts himself and despises others. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, by the winning of gifts, attentions, and fame, he becomes inebriated and infatuated, and grows careless. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, when an ascetic undertakes a course of austerity, he comes to make a distinction³ in

¹ Upakkilesa. An auxiliary or subsidiary corruption (no doubt with the connotation that it may lead on to worse), spot, flaw, defect, blemish.

² Paripunṇa-saṅkappo ti ālam ettāvātā ti evaṃ pariyosita-saṅkappo: Comy. his aims are completed means thinking: thus far is enough; my aims are ended. Again: he thinks: Who is equal to me in this practice? With this may be compared our comment on Dr. Neumann's different rendering in M. I, 192; III, 276; in J.R.A.S., 1902, p. 482.

³ Vodāsam āpajjati. Buddhaghosa explains: dvedham āpajjati, dve bhāge karoti.

foods, saying : This suits me ; this doesn't suit me. The latter kind he deliberately rejects. Over the former he waxes greedy and infatuated, and cleaves to them, seeing not the danger in them, discerning them not as unsafe, and so enjoys them. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

[44] And again, Nigrodha, because of his longing for gifts, attentions and fame, he thinks : Rājas will pay me attentions, and so will their officials ; so, too, will nobles, brahmins, householders and founders of schools. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

11. And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic gets grumbling at some recluse or brahmin, saying : That man lives on all sorts of things : things grown from tubers, or shoots, or berries, or joints, or fifthly, from seeds,¹ munching them all up together with that wheel-less thunderbolt of a jawbone—and they call him a holy man !² This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic sees a certain recluse or brahmin receiving attentions ; being revered, honoured and presented with offerings by the citizens. And seeing this he thinks : The citizens pay attentions to this fellow who lives in luxury ; they revere and honour him, and present him with offerings, while to me who, as ascetic, live a really austere life, they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings ! And so he cherishes envy and grudging at the citizens. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic becomes one who sits in public.³ This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

¹ On these varieties of *bija* see above, I, 6, n. 2.

² The sentence is not clear. The reading *asani-vicakka* is confirmed by *Samyutta* II, 229. As to the metaphor, the *Atthasālini*, p. 404, has five, equally vigorous.

³ *Buddhaghosa* explains : He sits in some meeting- (lit. seeing-) place, and where they can see him, he executes the bat-rite (cf. *Jāt* III, 235 ; IV, 299 ; I, 493) of hanging head downwards like a sleeping bat, the fivefold austerity (see *ibid.*) or stands on one leg, or worships the sun.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic, when on his round for alms among the people, slinks along furtively,¹ as if to say : This is part of my austerity ; this is part of my austerity. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

[45] And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic affects the mysterious. When asked : Do you approve of this ? he, not approving, says : I do, or approving, says : I do not. Thus he consciously tells untruths. . . . This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

12. And again, Nigrodha, when the Tathāgata, or a disciple of the Tathāgata, teaching the Norm, uses a method worthy of appreciation, the ascetic does not appreciate it. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to lose his temper and bear enmity. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

And again, Nigrodha, the ascetic is liable to be hypocritical and deceitful, as well as envious and grudging ; he becomes cunning and crafty, hard-hearted and vain, he entertains evil wishes and becomes captive to them ; he entertains false opinions, becomes possessed of metempirical dogma ;² misinterprets his experience ;³ is avaricious and adverse from renunciation. This, too, becomes a blemish in the ascetic.

What think you of this, Nigrodha ? Are these things blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification, or are they not ?

Verily, lord, these things are blemishes in the austerities of self-mortification. It is possible, lord, that an ascetic may be possessed even of all these blemishes, much more by one or other of them.

13. Now take the opposite case, Nigrodha : an

¹ Attānaṃ adassayamāno. Buddhaghosa thinks the negative *a-* in the latter word a mere particle.

² Antaggahikā-diṭṭhi, which the Comy. limits to the Annihilationist heresy (*ucchedānta*) ; cf. above, I, p. 46.

³ Sandiṭṭhi : what he himself can see, says the Comy.

ascetic undertakes a course of austerity. Through that course he does not become self-complacent, nor are his aims fulfilled [46]. This being so, he is to that degree purified.

And again, Nigrodha, he . . . does not exalt himself nor despise others . . .¹ he does not become inebriated and infatuated and careless . . . he is not made self-complacent and disdainful by gifts, attentions and fame, nor does he thereby exalt himself and despise others, nor does he thereby become inebriated, infatuated and careless; he does not make a distinction between foods, saying: This suits me, this doesn't suit me, deliberately rejecting the latter, and waxing greedy and infatuated over the former, cleaving to them and enjoying them without seeing the danger in them, or discerning that they are unsafe; he does not think; out of his longing for gifts, attentions and fame, Rājas will pay me attentions, and so will their officials; so, too, will nobles, brahmins, householders and founders of schools.

14. And again, he does not grumble at some recluse or brahmin, saying [47] That man lives on all sorts of things—things for instance grown from tubers, or shoots, or berries, or joints, or fifthly, from seeds—munching them all up with that wheel-less thunderbolt of a jawbone, and they call him a holy man! When he sees a certain recluse or brahmin receiving attention, being revered, honoured, and presented with offerings by the citizens, he does not think: The citizens pay attention to this fellow who lives on all sorts; they revere and honour him and present him with offerings, while to me, who, as ascetic, live a really austere life, they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings, and thus he does not cherish envy and grudging at the citizens; he does not sit in public, nor slink about among the citizens as if to say: This is part of my austerity; this is part of my austerity. He does not affect the mysterious, nor say when asked if

¹ The negative instances are given mostly in full.

he approves of this, I do approve, when he does not, or, I do not approve, when he does. Herein he avoids telling deliberate untruths.

15. And again, when the Tathāgata, or a disciple of the Tathāgata, teaching the Norm, uses a method worthy of appreciation, he appreciates it. And he does not lose his temper or bear enmity ; he does not become hypocritical and deceitful, envious and grudging, cunning and crafty, hard-hearted [48] and vain ; he does not entertain evil wishes, or become captive to them ; he does not entertain false opinions or become possessed of metempirical dogma, does not pervert experience, is not avaricious and averse from renunciation. In not becoming infected by empiricism, not being avaricious, given to renunciation—to that degree does he become purified.

What think you, Nigrodha ? That being so, does the austerity by these things become genuinely pure, or not ?

Verily, lord, the austerity of these things becomes genuinely pure, and not impure ; it wins topmost rank, it reaches the pith.¹

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity become of topmost rank, nor reach the pith ; for that matter it has but reached the outside splinters.

16. In what way, lord, does an austerity win topmost rank, and reach the pith ? Good were it if the Exalted One caused my austerity to win topmost rank and reach the pith !

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch. What is the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch ? It is when an ascetic inflicts injury on no living thing, nor causes injury to be inflicted on any living thing, nor approves thereof. [49] He takes not what is not given, nor approves thereof. He utters no lies, nor causes lies to be uttered, nor approves thereof. He craves not for

¹ *Sarappattā*. *Sāra* (pith) is the usual Buddhist metaphor for the essence, the heart, root, or core of the matter.

the pleasures of sense,¹ nor leads others to crave for them, nor approves thereof. Now it is thus, Nigrodha, that the ascetic becomes self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold-Watch.

Now in that he is thus self-restrained, and his austerity is made to consist in *this*, he advances upwards² and turns not back to lower things. He chooses³ some lonely spot for his seat—in the forest, at the foot of a tree, on the hillside, in mountain glen, or rocky cave, in the charnel place, or on a heap of straw in the open fields. And returning thither after his round for alms, he seats himself when his meal is done, cross-legged, keeping his body erect, and his intelligence alert, intent. Putting away the hankering after the world, he abides with unhankering heart, and purifies his mind of covetousness. Putting away the canker of ill-will, he abides with heart free from enmity, benevolent and compassionate towards every living thing,⁴ and purifies his mind of malevolence. Putting away sloth and torpor, he abides clear of both; conscious of light, mindful and self-possessed, he purifies his mind of sloth and torpor. Putting away flurry and worry, he abides free from excitement; with heart serene within, he purifies his mind of flurry and worry. Putting away doubt, he abides as one who has passed beyond perplexity: no longer in suspense as to what is good, he purifies his mind of doubt.

17. He, having put away these Five Hindrances, and to weaken by insight the strength of the things that defile the heart, abides letting his mind, fraught with love,⁵ pervade one quarter of the world, and so.

¹ Na bhāvitam āsiṃsati. Perhaps: he does not rest complacently on that in which he has so trained himself. But we follow Buddhaghosa.

² Abhiharati, paraphrased as upari upari vaḍḍhati—he grows upward upward.

³ See above, I, p. 82.

⁴ This phrase was inadvertently omitted from the corresponding sentence in I, 82.

⁵ Lit.: accompanied by. These paragraphs occur above at I, p. 318; II, pp. 219, 279, but not at p. 82.

too, the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with love-burdened thought, abounding, [50] sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill-will. And he lets his mind, fraught with pity, pervade the world . . . and he lets his mind, fraught [with sympathy with joy],¹ pervade . . . the world. And he lets his mind, fraught with equanimity, pervade one quarter of the world, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world—above, below, around, and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with heart fraught with equanimity, abounding, sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill-will.

What think you of this, Nigrodha? Does austerity by these things become genuinely pure or not?

Verily, lord, austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure and not impure, wins topmost rank and reaches the pith.

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity win topmost rank, or reality; for that matter it does but reach into the bark.²

18. In what way, lord, does an austerity win top rank and reach the pith? How good it were if the Exalted One could make my austerities win top rank and reach the pith!

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic who is self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch. In that he is thus self-restrained, and his austerity is made to consist in this, he advances upward and turns not back to lower things. He chooses some lonely spot for his seat . . . and, having put away those Five Hindrances, and to weaken by insight the strength of

¹ Our modern tongues sadly lack a word for *muditā*: joy in others' good, the obverse, so to speak, of sympathy. We have only another obverse: malice, *Schadenfreude*!

² Lit.: has reached the bark, as distinct from the pith (*sāra*).

the things that defile the heart, abides letting his mind pervade the world, fraught with love . . . pity . . . sympathy . . . equanimity. He recalls to mind¹ his various temporary states in days gone by—one birth, or two, or three, or four, or five births, or ten, or twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, or a hundred, [51] or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births, through many an æon of dissolution, many an æon of evolution : In such a place, such was my name, such my family, such my colour, such my food, such my experience of discomfort or of ease, and such the limits of my life. When I passed away from that estate, I took form again in such a place. There I had such and such a name and family and colour and food and experience of discomfort or of ease, and such was the limit of my life. When I passed away from that state, I took form again here . . . thus does he call to mind his temporary state in days gone by in all their details, and in all their modes.

What think you of that, Nigrodha? Does the austerity by these things become genuinely pure or not?

Verily, lord, the austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure and not impure, wins topmost rank and reaches the pith.

Nay, Nigrodha, not yet does the austerity win to topmost rank and reach the pith, although it does reach the underlying fibre.

19. But in what way, lord, does an austerity reach to the top and to the pith? How well it were if the Exalted One could make my austerities attain to the top and to the pith!

Take the case, Nigrodha, of an ascetic who is self-restrained by the Restraint of the Fourfold Watch, who has put away the Five Hindrances, who has let his mind pervade the world with love, pity, sympathy, and equanimity, and has recalled to mind his various temporary states in days gone by, in all their details, [52] and in all their modes. He with the pure deva-

¹ See above, I, p. 90.

vision, surpassing that of men, sees beings as they pass away from one form of existence and take shape in another; he recognizes the mean and the noble, the well-favoured and the ill-favoured, the happy and the wretched, passing away according to their deeds: Such and such worthy folk,¹ evil in act and word and thought, revilers of Ariyans, holding to wrong views, acquiring for themselves that karma which results from wrong views, they, on the dissolution of the body after death, are reborn in some unhappy state of suffering or woe; but such and such beings, good in act and word and thought, no revilers of Ariyans, holding to right views, acquiring for themselves that karma that results from right views, they, on the dissolution of the body, are reborn in some happy state in heaven. Thus, with the pure deva-vision surpassing that of men, does he see beings as they pass away from one state of existence and take form in another; he recognizes the mean and the noble, the well-favoured and the ill-favoured, the happy and the wretched, passing away according to their deeds.

What think you of that, Nigrodha? Does austerity by these things become genuinely pure or not?

Verily, lord, austerity by these things becomes genuinely pure, and not impure; it wins topmost rank and reaches the pith.

Thus, Nigrodha, does austerity win topmost rank and reach the pith. And so, Nigrodha, when you say to me: What, lord, is this religion of the Exalted One, wherein he trains his disciples, and which those disciples, so trained by the Exalted One as to win comfort, acknowledge to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteousness? I say that it is matter of a higher and more excellent degree wherein I train my disciples, so that they, so trained by me therein as to find comfort, acknowledge it to be their utmost support and the fundamental principle of righteous living.

¹ Bhonto sattā. Cf. bho satta, Digha III, 89 f., and below, Sampasādaniya Suttanta, § 17, n.

When he had thus said, the Wanderers raised a clamour, exclaiming loudly and noisily : Herein are we and our teachers set at naught. We know of nothing beyond their teaching that is higher.

[53] 20. When the householder Sandhāna realized : Surely now these Wanderers, though of other views, are listening to what the Exalted One has said, are paying attention, are applying their minds to understand, he then spake thus to Nigrodha :¹ You were saying to me just now, Nigrodha : Look you now, householder, know you with whom the Samaṇa Gotama talks ; with whom he holds conversation ; by intercourse with whom does he attain to lucidity in wisdom ? The Samaṇa Gotama's insight is ruined by his habit of seclusion. He is not at home in conducting an assembly. He is not ready in conversation. He is occupied only with the fringes of things. Even as a one-eyed cow that, walking in a circle, follows ever the outskirts, so is the Samaṇa Gotama. Why forsooth, householder, if the Samaṇa Gotama were to come to this assembly, with a single question only could we settle him ; yea, methinks we could roll him over like an empty pot. Now then the lord the Exalted One, the Arahant Buddha Supreme, has arrived among us ; show ye him as not at home in an assembly ; show him to be as a one-eyed cow walking in a circle ; with your single question settle him now, roll him over methinks like an empty pot.

When he had thus said, Nigrodha sat silent and annoyed, with hunched back and drooping head, brooding and dumbfounded.

21. Now when the Exalted One perceived the state he was in, he said : Is it true, Nigrodha, that you made this speech ?

[54] It is true, lord, that I made that speech, so foolish was I, so stupid, so wrong.

¹ Buddhaghosa imputes to Sandhāna the charitable intention of so forcing Nigrodha's hand as to bring about the Buddha's forgiveness of his insolent assertion (§ 5). By overthrowing this banner of conceit he would cause Nigrodha to reap lasting benefit.

What think you of this, Nigrodha ? Have you ever heard it said by Wanderers who were venerable, aged, your teachers and teachers of your teachers, thus : They who in past ages were Arahants, Buddhas Supreme, forsooth, those Exalted Ones, when they were met and assembled, used to talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish talk of various kinds, to wit, talk of kings, robbers, and the like,¹ or speculative talk about existence and non-existence, as you and your teachers do now ? Or did they say : Thus were those Exalted Ones wont to haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where the breezes from the pastures blow, yet which were hidden from the eyes of men, meet for self-communing, even as I do now ?

Lord, I have heard it said by Wanderers who were venerable, aged, our teachers, and teachers of our teachers, thus : They who in past ages were Arahants, Buddhas Supreme, not theirs was it, when met and assembled, to talk with loud voices, with noise and clamour, carrying on childish talk of various kinds . . . or speculative talk about existence and non-existence, even as I do now in my own persuasion, but theirs was it to haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where breezes from the pastures blow, yet which were hidden from the eyes of men, meet for self-communing, even as the Exalted One does now.

You yourself, Nigrodha, being intelligent and advanced in years, has not this occurred to you ? Enlightened is the Exalted One ; he teaches the religion of Enlightenment. Self-mastered² is the Exalted One ; he teaches the religion of Self-mastery. Calm is the Enlightened One ; he teaches the religion of Calm. Saved is the Enlightened One, [55] he teaches the

¹ The whole list of subjects (p. 33) is to be understood.

² Lit., tamed.

religion of Salvation.¹ At peace is the Enlightened One ; he teaches the religion of Peace.²

22. When this was said, Nigrodha the Wanderer spake thus to the Exalted One :³ An offence has overcome me, lord, foolish and stupid and wrong that I am, who spoke thus about the Exalted One. May the Exalted One accept it of me, lord, that do so acknowledge it as an offence, to the end that in future I may restrain myself.

Verily, Nigrodha, it was an offence that overcame you in acting thus, foolish and stupid and wrong that you were, in that you spake thus of me. And inasmuch as you, Nigrodha, looking upon it as an offence, confess according to your deeds, we accept your confession. For that, Nigrodha, is custom in the discipline of the Ariyans, that whosoever looks upon his fault as a fault, and rightfully confesses it, shall in the future attain to self-restraint.

But I, Nigrodha, say this to you :⁴ Let a man of intelligence come to me, who is honest, candid, straightforward—I will instruct him, I will teach him the Norm. If he practise according as he is taught, then to know himself and to realize even here and now that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which⁵ clansmen go forth from the household life into the homeless state, will take him seven years. Nay, Nigrodha, let be the seven years. If he practise according as he is taught, then to know for himself and realize even here and now that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which clansmen go forth from

¹ Lit., crossed over, and crossing over, a figure applied always to the Four Floods (sensuality, renewed existence, speculative opinion, ignorance) which overwhelm mankind in everlasting living. Asl., p. 49. On the form of the sentences, cf. *Paṭisambhīdā-magga* I, p. 126 f., On the Great Pity of a Tathāgata.

² *Parinibbāna*—i.e., says the Comy., the driving away for mankind of all the Corruptions (*kilesa*'s). For the Ten Corruptions, see Bud. Psych. Ethics, pp. 327 ff.

³ Cf. above, I, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. M. II, 44.

⁵ Cf. above, I, p. 240.

the household life into the homeless state, will take him six years, five years, four years, three years, two years, one year . . . six months . . . five [56] months, four, three, two months, one month, half a month. Nay, Nigrodha, let be half a month. Let a man of intelligence come to me, honest, candid, straightforward ; I will instruct him, I will teach him the Norm, and if he practise according as he is taught, then to know for himself and to realize that supreme religion and goal, for the sake of which clansmen go forth from the household life into the homeless state, will take him seven days.

23. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to get pupils ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let him who is your teacher be your teacher still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : the Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to make us secede from our rule ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let that which is your rule be your rule still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to make us secede from our mode of livelihood ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let that which is your mode of livelihood be so still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to confirm us as to such points of our doctrines as are wrong, and reckoned as wrong by those in our community ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let those points in your doctrines which are wrong and reckoned as wrong by those in your community, remain so still for you. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think : The Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to detach us from such points in our doctrines as are good, reckoned as good by those in our community ; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let those points in your doctrines which are good, reckoned to be good by those in your community, remain so still.

Wherefore, Nigrodha, I speak thus, neither because I wish to gain pupils, nor because I wish to cause

seceding from rule, nor [57] because I wish to cause seceding from mode of livelihood, nor because I wish to confirm you in bad doctrines, or detach you from good doctrines. But, O Nigrodha, there are bad things not put away, corrupting, entailing birth renewal, bringing suffering, resulting in ill, making for birth, decay and death in the future. And it is for the putting away of these that I teach the Norm, according to which if ye do walk, the things that corrupt shall be put away, the things that make for purity shall grow and flourish, and ye shall attain to and abide in, each one for himself even here and now, the understanding and the realization of full and abounding insight.

24. When he had thus said, the Wanderers sat silent and annoyed, with hunched back and drooping head, brooding and dumbfounded, so were their hearts given over to Māra.

Then the Exalted One thought : Every one of these foolish men is pervaded by the Evil One, so that to not even one of them will the thought occur : Come, let us now live the holy life taught by the Saṃaṇa Gotama, that we may learn to know it. What does an interval of seven days matter ?

Then the Exalted One having uttered his Lion's Roar in the park Queen Udumbarikā had assigned to the Wanderers, rose up and went through the air, and alighted on the Vulture's Peak. And then, too, the householder Sandhāna returned to Rājagaha.

(The Udumbarikā Sihanāda-Suttanta is ended.)

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CAKKAVATTI-SĪHANĀDA SUTTANTA.

ASOKA states in his Edicts that it was the horrors of actual warfare, as brought to his notice during his conquest of Kalinga, that led him to the propagation, in those Edicts, of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the only true conquest. So the Buddha is represented in this Suttanta as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas), and then as inculcating the observance of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the most important force for the material and moral progress of mankind.

The whole is a fairy tale. The personages who play their part in it never existed. The events described in it never occurred. And more than that: a modern writer, telling a story to emphasize a moral, would always, like the creator of the immortal Dr. Teufelsdröckh, endeavour to give probability, vraisemblance, to the characters and events of his tale. Here the very opposite would seem to be the case. Recourse is had rather to the shock of improbability. This is in accord with the procedure in other cases (for instance, in the story of Sharp-tooth the Priest; or in that of the Riddles of the God¹). The point of the moral—and in this fairy tale the moral is the thing—is the Reign of Law. Never before in the history of the world had this principle been proclaimed in so thorough-going and uncompromising a way. But of course it is not set out in such arguments as we find in modern treatises on ethics or philosophy. The authors are not writing a monograph on history or ethics. They are preaching a gospel, and their method is to state their view, and leave the hearer to accept it or not, just as he pleases.

The view was, so to speak, in the air at that time. The whole history of religion, in India as elsewhere, had been the history of a struggle between the opposing ideas, or groups of ideas, that may be summed up by the words Animism and Normalism.

¹ Kūṭadanta and Sakka-Pañha.

Animism has now become a well-known term. It is based on the very ancient hypothesis of a soul—a subtle, material homunculus, or manikin, supposed to dwell in the heart of a man. This afforded what seemed a simple and self-evident explanation of many mysterious things. When in his dream a man saw another, whom, when the dreamer woke, he knew to have been dead, he at once concluded, on the evidence of the dream, that the person he saw in his dream was still alive. It is true he had seen the body dead. But it was self-evident that a something, he knew not what, but very like the body, was still alive. He did not reason much about it, or stay to weigh the difficulties involved. But he was much too frightened of it to forget it. Once formed, the hypothesis was widely used. When a man awoke in the morning, after hunting all night in his dreams, and learnt from his companions that his body had been there all the time, it was, of course, his soul that had been away. In a similar way, death and trance and disease could be ascribed to the absence of the soul. Souls were believed to wander from body to body. Animals had souls, even things had souls, if they were uncanny, or when they seemed to have life and motion and sound. The awe-inspiring phenomena of nature were instinctively regarded as the result of spirit action; and rivers, plants, and stars, the earth, the air, and heaven, became full of souls of gods, each of them in fashion as a man, and with the passions of a man.

But wide-reaching as this hypothesis was, it could not cover everything. From the earliest times of which we have any record we find, in India as elsewhere, quite a number of religious beliefs and ceremonies which were not explained, and could not be explained by the hypothesis of a soul. In other words, they are not animistic. The first impression we get is that of the bewildering variety of such beliefs. But they can be arranged, with more or less exactitude, into overlapping groups—and behind all the groups can be discerned a single underlying principle. That principle is the belief in a certain rule, order, law. We have no word for such a belief in English; and this, since the theory is as important, in the ancient Indian religions, as Animism, is a pity. I have suggested, in my lectures on Comparative Religion in Manchester, to call it Normalism.

Of course the men who held the beliefs, and practised the ceremonies so named, had no clear conception of the theory of Normalism, just as they had no clear conception of the theory of Animism. But they unmistakably held the view that things happened, effects were brought about, without

the agency of a soul or god, and quite as a matter of course; and they regarded that as the rule in such and such a case. Now we do not ourselves believe in the rule, or in any one of the rules, thus laid down (any more than we believe in the hypothesis of a homunculus within the heart). But the word Animism has been found most useful in clearing up our appreciation of ancient views. Its usefulness is limited, it is true. It covers rather less than half of the main beliefs recorded in the most ancient literatures of the world. The other half would be covered by the corresponding hypothesis of Normalism.

This is not the place to raise the question of the importance of Normalism in the general history of religions. Perhaps one of the reasons why, in Europe, so much more attention has been paid to Animism, may be the general trend of belief in Europe being itself predominantly Animistic. But it is at least certain that in the far East, and more especially in China and India, Normalism is the more important of the two.

In China it is the basis of the theory of the Tao (the Way), which finds its earliest expression in the famous tractate of Lao Tsu, but was undoubtedly earlier than that, and is taken for granted also by Confucius.

The Tao is quite Normalistic; and though much debased in later times in the official circles of Taoism, the early form of it has never ceased to influence the various intellectual centres of Chinese belief. The theory of Yang and Yin, also so widely, indeed universally, held in China, and also going back to very early times, is equally Normalistic. No one of these three conceptions was ever personified. All three rested on the idea of law, or rule, independent of any soul.

In India, our earliest records, the thousand and more Vedic hymns, seem at first sight to be altogether Animistic. They consist almost exclusively in appeals to various gods. The European books on Indian religions are concerned in treating of the Vedic period, with descriptions of these gods, based on the epithets applied to them, or the acts attributed to them, and so on. But these poems make no pretension to being a complete statement of the beliefs held by the tribes whose priests made or used the poems. Other poems, not included in our present collection, were doubtless extant in the community at the time when the collection was made. Other beliefs, not mentioned in the poems, were widely influential among the people. What we have is not complete even as a summary of the theosophy or the ritual

or the mythology of the priests; and it refers only incidentally to other beliefs, unconnected with gods, of great importance as a factor in religion and daily life.

This conclusion might be justified as rendered necessary by a critical consideration of the simple, known facts as to the composition of the anthology we call the Rig Veda. It is confirmed by the discovery in later Vedic books, especially in the manuals of domestic rites, of customs and beliefs, that must evidently go back to the Rig Veda period (though not referred to in that collection); and even of one or two such cases that certainly go back to an earlier period still. We have space here for only one or two sample instances, and even they can only be treated in the merest outline.

Take the case of *Rita*. The meaning of the word would seem to have passed through some such evolution as motion, rhythmic motion, order, cosmic order, moral order, the right. In those slowly moving ages a long period must be postulated for the growth and consolidation of such ideas. The word is found, incidentally mentioned, at the end of its career, in the Avesta and the Veda. It must have been in full use before the Persian Aryans had separated from the Indian Aryans. The idea may therefore with reasonable probability be traced back to the third millennium before Christ. The use of the word died out in India before the time of the rise of Buddhism. Of the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads it occurs only in one—the *Taittiriya*. In the peroration to that work *Rita* is placed above, before the gods. The word occurs, it is true, in three or four isolated passages of post-Buddhistic works, but these are archaisms. It has not been traced in either the Buddhist or the Jain canonical literature.

The process of the gradual decline in the use of an abstract word is precisely analogous to the process of the gradual decay and death of a god.¹ The word covers not one idea only, but a number of connotations. The implications involved in it are constantly, though imperceptibly, changing. Sooner or later one or other phase of it overmasters the others, and some new word or words, emphasizing some one or other of the various connotations of the older word, come gradually into use as more adequate or more clear. When that process is complete, the older word is dead. But it lives again in the newer word, or words, that have taken its place, and would never have been born or thought of unless the older word had previously lived. It was so with *Rita*--a broader and deeper conception than the Greek *Moirā*; and

¹ See Buddhist India, p. 234.

more akin to the Chinese Tao. Like these, Rita was never personified, and it lives again in the clearer and more definite (though still very imperfect) phrases of the Suttanta before us now.

The case of Rita is by no means unique. I have elsewhere discussed at some length another case, that of Tapas or self-mortification, austerity.¹ It was held in India from Vedic times onwards that tapas (originally burning glow, but afterwards used of fasting and other forms of self-mortification) worked out its effects by itself, without the intervention of any deity. This is only the more remarkable since it is almost certain that in India, as elsewhere, the ecstatic state of mind which rendered such austerity possible was originally often regarded as due to the inspiration of a spirit. But it is, so far as I know, never mentioned that the supra-normal effects of the austerity were due to the spirit from whom the inspiration came. The effects were due to the austerity itself. Very often indeed there was no question of any deity's help in the determination to carry out the self-torture—just as in the case of the pujāris at the ghats in modern India.

Even the very sacrifice itself—made to gods, supposed to give sustenance and strength to gods, accompanied by hymns and invocations addressed to gods—was not entirely free from such Normalistic ideas. The hymns themselves already contain phrases which suggest that their authors began to see a certain mystic power over the gods in a properly conducted sacrifice. And we know that afterwards, in the Brāhmaṇas, this conception was carried to great lengths. So also we have evidence of a mystic power, independent of the gods, in the words, the verses, that accompany the sacrifice. And it is no contradiction of this that we find thus mystic power itself deified and becoming, indeed, in the course of centuries of speculation, the highest of the gods. And it is significative, in this connection, that the string of Behaspati's bow is precisely Rita.

It would be tedious (and it would also, after the above instances, be unnecessary, I trust) to quote the very numerous other instances in Vedic works of a slighter character and less importance, showing the existence of a theory of life the very opposite of Animism. They are naturally only quite incidental in the Rig Veda itself, and more and more frequent as the books get later, being most numerous in the Sūtra

¹ Dialogues of the Buddha I, 209-218. See also Oldenberg, *Religion du Veda* (R. Henry), 344-347.

period. Many of these can be classed under one or other of the various meanings given by anthropologists to the ambiguous and confusing word Magic¹—the magic of names, or numbers, or propinquity, or likeness, or association, or sympathy, and so on. Many will also be found in the long list of practices from which it is said in the *Sīlas* (one of the very earliest of our Buddhist documents, earlier than the *Pitakas*) that the *Samana* Gotama refrains.²

The above suffices to show something of the position of Normalism in pre-Buddhistic India. Our present Suttanta shows the stage it had reached in the period of the early Buddhists. It is a stage of great interest—differing, as it does, from the line of development followed by Normalism in other countries.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

¹ For some of these divergent and contradictory meanings see *Proceedings of the Oxford Congress of Religions*, 1908.

² *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 16-30.

XXVI. CAKKAVATTI-SĪHANĀDA SUTTANTA.¹

(*The Lion-roar on the Turning of the Wheel.*)

WAR, WICKEDNESS, AND WEALTH.

[58] THUS have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying in the land of the Magadhese at Mātulā. Now there the Exalted One addressed the brethren,² saying : Brethren ! And they made answer : Lord ! The Exalted One spake thus :

Live ye as islands³ unto yourselves, brethren, as refuges unto yourselves, taking no other as your refuge ; live with the doctrine (the Norm), as your island, with the Norm as your refuge, taking no other as your refuge.

But how, brethren, does a brother live as an island unto himself, as a refuge unto himself, taking no other as his refuge ? how does he live with the Norm as his island, with the Norm as his refuge, taking no other refuge ?

Herein,⁴ brethren, a brother as to the body, as to the feelings, as to thought, as to ideas,⁵ continues so to look upon these that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, that he may overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. Thus, brethren, does a brother live as an island unto himself . . . with the Norm as his . . . refuge, taking no other as his refuge.

¹ This and the next Suttanta have been excellently translated into German by R. Otto Franke, in his selections from the Dīgha Nikāya, Göttingen, 1913, pp. 260 ff.

² Twenty in number. Comy.

³ Dīpa, lamp, or island Buddhaghosa here takes to mean island : as an island in the midst of the ocean make self the *terra firma*. Cf. above, II, 100.

⁴ As above, II, 327 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 325.

Keep to your own pastures,¹ brethren, walk in the haunts where your fathers roamed.² If ye thus walk in them the Evil One will find no landing-place, no basis of attack. It is precisely by the cultivation of good qualities that this merit grows.

[59] 2. Long, long ago, brethren, there was a sovran overlord named Strongtyre, a righteous king ruling in righteousness,³ lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven precious things. His were these seven precious things, to wit, the Wheel, the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the House-father, the Counsellor. More than a thousand sons also were his, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy.⁴ He lived in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it, not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness.

3. Now, brethren, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, King Strongtyre commanded a certain man, saying: If thou shouldst see, sirrah, that the Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place, bring me word.

Even so, sire, replied the man.

Now after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years that man saw that the Celestial Wheel had sunk, had slipped down from its place. On seeing that he went to King Strongtyre and said: Know, sire, for a truth that thy Celestial Wheel has sunk, has slipped down from its place.

¹ Gocara : cattle-range.

² Pettike visaye: or your native beat. This injunction forms the moral in the Jātaka of the Quail and the Falcon (II, 59). It must have been an old story, for it is told already (not as a Jātaka) in Samyutta V, 146, 147. The parable must have been familiar in the oldest Buddhist period and should be added to the list given in Buddhist India, p. 195.

³ On the omission here of an anointed Kshatriya, see II, 199, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. II, 13.

Then King Strongtyre, brethren, let the prince his eldest son be sent for, and spake thus :

Behold, dear boy, my Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place. Now it has been told me : If the Celestial Wheel of a Wheel-turning King shall sink down, shall slip down from its place, that king has not much longer to live. I have had my fill [60] of human pleasures ; 'tis time to seek after divine joys. Come, dear boy, take thou charge over this earth bounded by the ocean. But I, shaving hair and beard, and donning yellow robes, will go forth from home into the homeless state.

So, brethren, King Strongtyre, having in due form established his eldest son on the throne, shaved hair and beard, donned yellow robes and went forth from home into the homeless state. But on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth, the Celestial Wheel disappeared.¹

4. Then a certain man went to the king, the anointed warrior, and told him, saying : Know, O king, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared !

Then that king, brethren, the anointed warrior, was grieved thereat and afflicted with sorrow. And he went to the royal hermit and told him, saying : Know, sire, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared.

And the anointed king so saying, the royal hermit made reply : Grieve thou not, dear son, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared, nor be afflicted. For no paternal heritage of thine, dear son, is the Celestial Wheel. But verily, dear son, turn thou in the Ariyan turning of the Wheel-turners.² [Act up to the noble ideal of duty set before themselves by the true sovrans of the world.]³ Then it may well be that if thou carry

¹ Like the extinguished flame of a lamp. Comy.

² I.e. do good (make good karma) as I did, and earn the Wheel. Cf. the Great King of Glory's reflection, II, 218.

³ It is impossible to render the pregnant phrase into intelligible English without a paraphrase. There is a play upon the words vatta, and Ariya. Vatta means turning, but also duty

out the Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch, and on the feast of the full moon thou wilt go with bathed head to keep the feast on the chief upper terrace, lo! the Celestial Wheel will manifest itself with its thousand spokes, its tyre, navel, and all its parts complete.

[61] 5. But what, sire, is this Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch?

This, dear son, that thou, leaning on the Norm [the Law of truth and righteousness]¹ honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it, being thyself a Norm-banner, a Norm-signal, having the Norm as thy master, shouldst provide the right watch, ward, and protection for thine own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for brahmins, and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds. Throughout thy kingdom let no wrongdoing prevail. And whosoever in thy kingdom is poor, to him let wealth be given.

And when, dear son, in thy kingdom men of religious life, renouncing the carelessness arising from the intoxication of the senses, and devoted to forbearance and sympathy, each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self, shall come to thee from time to time, and question thee concerning what is good and what is bad, what is criminal and what is not, what is to be done and what left undone, what line of action will in the long run work for weal or for woe, thou shouldst hear what they have to say, and thou shouldst deter them from evil, and bid them take up what is

(the way one ought to turn). Franke has *Widme dich der hohen Cakkavatti-Pflicht*. On the threefold meaning of Ar(i)yan—racial, ethical, and æsthetic—see Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, 49, 50. On the new meaning here put into the curious word *Wheel-turner*, see *Introduction*.

¹ The Norm is *Dhamma*. We must coin a word for this. Both French and Germans have a better word in *droit* and *Recht*, each of which means both law and right. See Mrs. Rhys Davids above, II, 325, and *Buddhism* (1912), 227. The whole passage in the Pali is a striking outburst on the superiority of right over might, on the ideal of empire as held by the early Buddhists. Its eloquence has suffered much in our translation.

good. This, dear son, is the Ariyan duty of a sovran of the world.

Even so, sire, answered the anointed king, and obeying, carried out the Ariyan duty of a sovran lord. To him, thus behaving, when¹ on the feast of the full moon he had gone in due observance with bathed head to the chief upper terrace, the Celestial Wheel revealed itself, with its thousand spokes, its tyre, its navel, and all its parts complete. And seeing this it occurred to the king: It has been told me that a king to whom on such an occasion the Celestial Wheel reveals itself completely, [62] becomes a Wheel-turning monarch. May I even I also become a sovran of the world!

6. Then, brethren, the king arose from his seat, and uncovering his robe from one shoulder, took in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand sprinkled up over the Celestial Wheel, saying: Roll onward, O lord Wheel! Go forth and overcome, O lord Wheel!

Then, brethren, the Celestial Wheel rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Wheel-turning king, and with him his army, horses and chariots and elephants and men. And in whatever place, brethren, the Wheel stopped, there the king, the victorious war-lord, took up his abode, and with him his fourfold army. Then all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the sovran king and said: Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Teach us, O mighty king!²

The king, the sovran war-lord, spake thus: Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink

¹ Cf. II, p. 202.

² In this parody on the ordinary methods of conquest all the horrors and crimes of war are absent. The conqueror simply follows the bright and beneficent Wheel, and the conquered, with joy and trust, ask only for instruction.

no maddening drink. Enjoy your possessions as you have been wont to do.¹

Then, brethren, all they that were enemy kings in the region of the East became vassals to the king, the Wheel-turner.

7. Then, brethren, the Celestial Wheel, plunging down into the Eastern ocean, rose up out again, and rolled onwards to the region of the South . . . [and there all happened as had happened in the East. And in like manner the Celestial Wheel, plunging into the Southern ocean, rose up out again and rolled onward to the region of the West . . . [63] and of the North ; and there too all happened as had happened in the South and West].

Then when the Celestial Wheel had gone forth conquering over the whole earth to its ocean boundary, it returned to the royal city, and stood, so that one might think it fixed, in front of the judgment hall at the entrance to the inner apartments of the king, the Wheel-turner, lighting up with its glory the façade of the inner apartments of the king, the sovran of the world.

8. And a second king, brethren, also a Wheel-turning monarch . . . and a third . . . and a fourth . . . and a fifth . . . and a sixth . . . and a seventh king, a victorious war-lord, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, commanded a certain man, saying :

If thou shouldst see, sirrah, that the Celestial Wheel has sunk down, has slid from its place, bring me word.

Even so, sire, replied the man.

Now after many years, after many hundred years,

¹ *Yathābhuttaṃ bhūñjatha*. But see above, II, 203, and Franke, op. cit., 263. To enjoy this paragraph as it deserves the reader should bear in mind the kind of method of which it is a parody, the laws that would be made, say, by an Assyrian or Hun conqueror, with a motto of frightfulness, for his conquered foes. *Samyutta I, 10* (Kindred Sayings I, 15, n. 1) has a similar play on the various meanings of *bhūtvā*.

after many thousand years, that man saw that the Celestial Wheel had sunk down, had become dislodged from its place. And so seeing he went to the king, the war-lord, and told him.

[64] Then that king did [even as Strongtyre had done]. And on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth, the Celestial Wheel disappeared.

9. Then a certain man went and told this to the king. . . . Then the king, the anointed Kshatriya, was grieved at the disappearance of the Wheel, and afflicted with grief. But he did not go to the hermit-king to ask concerning the Ariyan Duty of a sovran war-lord. By his own ideas, forsooth, he governed his people; and they so governed, differently from what they had been, did not prosper as they used to do under former kings who had carried out the Ariyan duty of a sovran king.

Then, brethren, the ministers and courtiers, the finance officials, the guards and doorkeepers, and they who lived by sacred verses¹ came to the king, the anointed warrior, and spake thus: [65] Thy people, O king, whilst thou governest them by thine own ideas, differently from the way to which they were used when former kings were carrying out the Ariyan duty, prosper not. Now there are in thy kingdom ministers and courtiers, finance officers, guards and custodians, and they who live by sacred verses—both all of us and others—who keep the knowledge of the Ariyan duty of a sovran king. Lo! O king, do thou ask us concerning it; to thee thus asking will we declare it.

10. Then, brethren, the king, the anointed warrior, having made the ministers and all the rest sit down together, asked them about the Ariyan duty of a sovran war-lord. And they declared it unto him. And when he had heard them, he did provide the due watch and ward and protection, but on the destitute he

¹ Mantass'ājivino—that is, the magicians, brahmins.

bestowed no wealth. And because this was not done, poverty became widespread.¹

When poverty was thus become rife, a certain man took that which others had not given him, what people call by theft. Him they caught, and brought before the king, saying : This man, O king, has taken that which was not given him, and that is theft.

Thereupon the king spake thus to the man : Is it true, sirrah, that thou hast taken what no man gave thee, hast committed what men call theft ?

It is true, O king.

But why ?

O king, I have nothing to keep me alive.

[66] Then the king bestowed wealth on that man, saying : With this wealth, sirrah, do thou both keep thyself alive, maintain thy parents, maintain children and wife, carry on thy business, and keep up such alms for holy men as shall be of value in the realms above, heavenly gifts, the result whereof shall be happiness here and rebirth in the heavenly worlds.

Even so, O king, replied the man.

11. Now another man, brethren, took by theft what was not given him. Him they caught and brought before the king, the anointed Kshatriya, and told him, saying : This man, O king, hath taken by theft what was not given him.

And the king [spoke and did even as he had spoken and done to the former man].

12. Now men heard, brethren, that to them who had taken by theft what was not given them, the king was giving wealth. And hearing they thought : Let us then take by theft what has not been given us.

¹ It should be noticed that this king is apparently doing his best—what he thinks is best—and yet that his action leads to long-continued and disastrous results. It is as if a man, doing his best, goes under a tree for protection during a storm, and is struck by lightning attracted by the tree. The cosmic law, the Dhamma, the Norm, acts on in the realm of morals as it does in the realm of physics. The law is inexpugnable, *res inexorabilis*. If the law is not observed, the consequences are inevitable.

Now a certain man did so. And him they caught and charged before the king, the anointed Kshatriya, [67] who [as before] asked him why he had stolen.

Because, O king, I cannot maintain myself.

Then the king thought : If I bestow wealth on anyone soever who has taken by theft what was not given him, there will be hereby an increase of this stealing. Let me now put a final stop to this, inflict condign punishment on him, have his head cut off!

So he bade his men saying : Now, look ye! bind this man's arms behind him with a strong rope and a tight knot, shave his head bald, lead him around with a harsh sounding drum, from road to road, from crossways to crossways, take him out by the southern gate, and to the south of the town, put a final stop to this, inflict on him the uttermost penalty, cut off his head.

Even so, O king, answered the men, and carried out his commands.

13. Now men heard, brethren, that they who took by theft what was not given them, were thus put to death. And hearing, they thought : Let us also now have sharp swords made ready for ourselves, and them, from whom we take what is not given us [68]—what they call theft—let us put a final stop to them, inflict on them the uttermost penalty, and cut their heads off.

And they gat themselves sharp swords, and came forth to sack village and town and city, and to work highway robbery. And then whom they robbed they made an end of, cutting off their heads.

14. Thus, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute poverty grew rife; from poverty growing rife stealing increased, from the spread of stealing violence grew apace, from the growth of violence the destruction of life became common, from the frequency of murder¹ both the span of life in those beings and their comeliness also wasted away, so that,

¹ Some MSS. include *lying* in this series.

of humans whose span of life was eighty thousand years, the sons lived but forty thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, a certain man took by theft what was not given him and [even as those others was accused before the king and questioned if it was true that he had stolen].

Nay, O king, he replied, thus deliberately telling a lie.

15. Thus, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew rife . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . until lying grew common. [69] And from lying growing common both the span of life in those beings and the comeliness of them wasted away, so that of humans whose span of life was forty thousand years, the sons lived but twenty thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter life-span, a certain man took by theft what was not given him. Him a certain man reported to the king, the anointed Kshatriya, saying: Such and such a man, O king, has taken by theft what was not given him—thus speaking evil of him.

16: And so, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew rife . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking grew abundant. And from evil speaking growing abundant, both the life-span of those beings and also the comeliness of them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was twenty thousand years, the sons lived but ten thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, some were comely and some were ugly. And so those who were ugly, coveting them that were comely, committed adultery with their neighbours' wives.

17. Thus from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking . . . immorality grew rife. And from the increase of immorality, both the life-span of those beings and also the comeliness of

them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was ten thousand years, the sons lived but five thousand years.

Now among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, two things increased, abusive speech and idle talk. And from these two things increasing, both the life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted away, so that, of humans whose life-span was five [70] thousand years, some sons lived but two and a half, some but two, thousand years.

Among humans of a life-span of two thousand years and a half, covetousness and ill-will waxed great. And thereby . . . the sons lived but a thousand years.

Among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, false opinions grew. And thereby the life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was a thousand years, the sons lived but five hundred years.

Among humans of the latter span of life, brethren, three things grew apace: incest, wanton greed, and perverted lust. Thereby the life-span of those beings and their comeliness wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was five hundred years, some sons lived but two and a half centuries, some only two centuries

Among humans of a life-span, brethren, of two and a half centuries, these things grew apace—lack of filial piety to mother and father, lack of religious piety to holy men, lack of regard for the head of the clan.¹

18. Thus, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew great . . . stealing . . . violence . . . murder . . . lying . . . evil speaking . . . adultery . . . [71] abusive and idle talk . . . covetousness and ill-will . . . false opinions . . . incest, wanton greed and perverted lust . . . till finally lack of filial and religious piety and lack of regard for the head of the clan grew great. From these things growing, the

¹ Kula-setṭha, not to be confused with gahapati, the head of the family.

life-span of those beings and the comeliness of them wasted, so that, of humans whose span of life was two and a half centuries, the sons lived but one century.

19. There will come a time, brethren, when the descendants of those humans will have a life-span of ten years. Among humans of this life-span, maidens of five years will be of a marriageable age. Among such humans these kinds of tastes (savours) will disappear: ghee, butter, oil of tila, sugar, salt. Among such humans kudrūsa grain¹ will be the highest kind of food. Even as to-day, rice and curry is the highest kind of food, so will kudrūsa grain be then. Among such humans the ten moral courses of conduct will altogether disappear, the ten immoral courses of action² will flourish excessively; there will be no word³ for moral among such humans—far less any moral agent. Among such humans, brethren, they who lack filial [72] and religious piety, and show no respect for the head of the clan—'tis they to whom homage and praise will be given; just as to-day homage and praise are given to the filial-minded, to the pious and to them who respect the heads of their clans.

20. Among such humans, brethren, there will be no [such thoughts of reverence as are a bar to inter-marriage with] mother, or mother's sister, or mother's sister-in-law, or teacher's wife, or father's sister-in-law.⁴ The world will fall into promiscuity, like goats and sheep, fowls and swine, dogs and jackals.

Among such humans, brethren, keen mutual enmity will become the rule, keen ill-will, keen animosity, passionate thoughts even of killing, in a mother towards her child, in a child towards its mother, in a father towards his child and a child towards its father, in

¹ Cf. Milinda II, 267. It is a kind of rye. Franke compares it with Sanskrit *koraduṣa*.

² Given in the Vibhaṅga, p. 391. They are very nearly those referred to above.

³ Neither term—*kusalan tināmaṇ*—nor concept—*paññatti-mattam pi*—says Buddhaghosa.

⁴ Lit. wives of *garu*'s (*guru*'s). The Comy. interprets this to mean wives of little father or great father—i.e. wives of father's brothers, younger and older.

brother to brother, in brother to sister, in sister to brother. Just as a sportsman feels towards the game¹ that he sees, so will they feel.

[73] 21. Among such humans, brethren, there will arise a sword-period² of seven days, during which they will look on each other as wild beasts; sharp swords will appear ready to their hands, and they, thinking This is a wild beast, this is a wild beast, will with their swords deprive each other of life.

Then to some of those beings it will occur: Let us not slay just anyone; nor let just anyone slay us! Let us now, therefore, betake ourselves to dens of grass, or dens in the jungle, or holes in trees, or river fastnesses, or mountain clefts, and subsist on roots and fruits of the jungle. And they will do so for those seven days. And at the end of those seven days, coming forth from those dens and fastnesses and mountain clefts, they will embrace each other, and be of one accord³ comforting one another, and saying: Hail, O mortal, that thou livest still! O happy sight to find thee still alive!

Then this, brethren, will occur to those beings: Now, only because we had gotten into evil ways, have we had this heavy loss of kith and kin. Let us therefore now do good. What can we do that is good? Let us now abstain from taking life. That is a good thing that we may take up and do. And they will abstain from slaughter, and will continue in this good way. Because of their getting into this good way, they will increase again both as to their span of life and as to their comeliness. [74] And to them thus increasing in life and comeliness, to them who

¹ Migo, deer, is capable of meaning all game, or wild animals.

² *Satthantarakappa*. *Sattha* is sword; *antara-kappa* is a period included in another period. Here the first period, the one included, is seven days. See Ledi Sadaw in the Buddhist Review, January, 1916.

³ *Sabhāgāyissanti*. Both text and commentary are corrupt. Perhaps one should read *sabhāgā bhavissanti* (one of three consecutive and very similar *aksharas* having fallen out). In the next clause read *satta*.

lived but one decade, there will be children who will live for twenty years.

22. Then this, brethren, will occur to those beings : Now we, because we have gotten into good ways, increase in length of life and comeliness. Let us now do still more good. Let us now abstain from taking what is not given, let us abstain from adultery, let us now abstain from lying, let us now abstain from evil speaking, let us now abstain from abuse and from idle talk, let us now abstain from covetousness, from ill-will, from false opinions, let us now abstain from the three things—incest, wanton greed and perverted desires ; let us now be filial towards our mothers, and our fathers, let us be pious toward holy men, let us respect the heads of clans, yea, let us continue to practise each of these good things.

So they will practise these virtues, [. . . down to . . .] filial piety, religious piety, respect to heads of clans. And because of the good they do they will increase in length of life, and in comeliness, so that the sons of them who lived but twenty years, will come to live forty years. And the sons of these sons will come to live eighty years ; their sons to 160 years ; their sons to 320 years ; their sons to 640 years ; their sons to 2,000 years ; their sons to 4,000 years ; their sons to 8,000 years ; their sons to 20,000 years ; their sons to 40,000 [75] years ; and the sons of those that lived 40,000 years will come to live 80,000 years.

23. Among humans living 80,000 years, brethren, maidens are marriageable at 500 years of age. Among such humans there will be only three kinds of disease—appetite, non-assimilation and old age. Among such humans, this India¹ will be mighty and prosperous, the villages, towns and royal cities will be so close that a cock could fly from each one to the next.² Among

¹ Jambudīpa, this world (loka at Anguttara, I 159).

² Kukkuṭa-sampātikā, lit. cock's-flightish. R. Morris discusses this phrase in vain, J.P.T.S., 1885, p. 38. At Divyāvadāna, p. 316, the editors (in the Index) give it up and suggest reading kakura. Franke here translates 'resembling flocks of birds.' Compare also Vinaya IV, 131. Buddhaghosa says here

such humans this India—one might think it a Waveless Deep¹—will be pervaded by mankind even as a jungle is by reeds and rushes. Among such humans the Benares of our day² will be named Ketumatī, a royal city, mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded and well fed. Among such humans in this India there will be 84,000 towns, with Ketumatī the royal city at their head.

24. Among such humans, brethren, at Ketumatī the royal city, there will arise Sankha, a Wheel-turning king, righteous and ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters, conqueror, protector of his people, possessor of the seven precious things. His will be these seven precious things, to wit, the Wheel, the Elephant, the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the House-father, the Councillor. More than a thousand also will be his offspring, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He will live in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness.

25. At that period, brethren, [76] there will arise

that another reading, *kukkuṭa-sampādikā* is also possible in the sense of within a cock's walk, which amounts to much the same thing as the translation adopted above.

¹ *Avīci*. The *tertium quid* of this comparison is obscure. The Waveless Deep was, in later books, one of the purgatories. We, in this twentieth century, may well think a country so densely populated a purgatory. But the authors of our document are evidently speaking in praise, not disparagement of the density of the population. Can the Waveless Deep, in this connexion, have been originally used in that sense? Buddhaghosa naturally explains it so, but that is not conclusive. The word does not occur in the four Nikāyas except in this passage (which recurs at Anguttara I, 159). It does not occur in the list of the purgatories given in the Sutta Nipāta (pp. 121-7) and Saṃyutta I, 154. It is found in a poem in the Itivuttaka (No. 89), which recurs in the Vinaya (II, 203), and in the Dhamma-Saṅgāṇi, § 1,281. But the history of *Avīci* and of the purgatory idea in India has yet to be written. In Vis. Magga *avīci* = disintegration (p. 449).

² *Ayaṇ Bārāṇasī*. As the discourse was said to have been delivered in Magadha, the allusion must have been rather to the city as contemporary than to any contiguity in space. But perhaps the story may have had its origin among the *Kāśīs*.

in the world an Exalted One named Metteyya, Arahant, Fully Awakened, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed as a guide to mortals willing to be led, a teacher for gods and men, an Exalted One, a Buddha, even as I am now. He, by himself, will thoroughly know and see, as it were face to face, this universe, with its worlds of the spirits, its Brahmās and its Māras, and its world of recluses and brahmins, of princes and peoples, even as I now, by myself, thoroughly know and see them. The truth [the Norm] lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, will he proclaim, both in the spirit and in the letter, the higher life will he make known, in all its fulness and in all its purity, even as I do now. He will be accompanied by a congregation of some thousands of brethren, even as I am now accompanied by a congregation of some hundreds of brethren.

26. Then, brethren, King Sankha will raise up again the fairy palace which the King Great Panāda had had built.¹ And therein will he dwell. But afterwards he will give it away, hand it over as a gift to recluses and brahmins, to the destitute, wayfarers and beggars. And he himself, cutting off hair and beard, will don the yellow robes, and leave his home for the life that is homeless under Metteyya the Exalted One, the Arahant fully awakened. And he, having thus left the world, will remain alone and separate, earnest, zealous and master of himself. And ere long he will attain to that supreme goal for the sake of which clansmen go forth from the [77] household life into the homeless state; yea, that supreme goal will he, while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize and to know!

27. Live as islands unto yourselves, brethren, as refuges unto yourselves, take none other as your refuge, live with the Norm as your island, with the Norm as your refuge, take none other as your refuge.

¹ See the passages quoted in Psalms of the Brethren, p. 130. It had been sunk in the Ganges at Payāga.

But how does a brother live as an island unto himself, as a refuge unto himself, taking none other as his refuge? How does he live with the Norm as his island, with the Norm as his refuge, taking none other as his refuge?

Herein a brother, as to the body, as to feelings, as to thought, as to ideas, continues so to look upon these that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, that he may overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. Thus is it, brethren, that a brother lives as an island and as a refuge unto himself . . . with the Norm as an island and as a refuge, having no other refuge.

28. Keep to your own pastures, brethren, walk in the haunts where your fathers roamed. If ye so walk, ye shall grow in length of years, ye shall grow in comeliness, ye shall grow in happiness, ye shall grow in wealth, ye shall grow in power.

And what is the meaning of length of years to a brother? Herein that a brother practises the Four Roads to Iddhi,¹ to wit, action, effort, and concentration applied to desire, to energy, to [the whole] consciousness, and to investigation. From practising and developing these Four Roads, he may, if he so desire, live on for an æon, or the remainder of an æon. This is the meaning of length of years to a brother.

And what is the meaning of comeliness to a brother? Herein, that a brother live in the practice of right conduct, restrained according to the Rules of the Order, perfect in behaviour and habitude; he sees danger in the least of the things he should avoid and, taking the precepts² on himself, he trains himself therein. This is comeliness for a brother.

And what is the meaning of happiness for a brother? Herein, that a brother estranged from lusts, aloof from evil dispositions, enters into and remains in the First Jhāna—a state of zest and ease born of detachment, application and persistence of attention going on the while. Then suppressing all application and persist-

¹ Cf. II, 128 f.

² Cf. I, 79.

ence of attention, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhāna, a state of zest and ease, born of the serenity of concentration, wherein the mind is lifted up alone, and the heart grows calm within. And into the Third Jhāna he enters and abides . . . and into the Fourth. This is happiness for a brother.

And what is the meaning of wealth for a brother? Herein that a brother abides letting his mind fraught with love pervade one quarter of the world, and so too the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, and altogether does he continue to pervade with love-burdened thought, abounding, sublime, and beyond measure, free from hatred and ill will. And he lets his mind fraught with pity pervade . . . the world . . . fraught with sympathy . . . with equanimity . . . This is wealth for a brother.

And what is the meaning of power for a brother? Herein, that a brother, by destruction of the deadly taints, enters into and abides in that untainted emancipation of mind and of insight, which he by himself has both known and realized.¹ This is power for a brother.

I consider no power, brethren, so hard to subdue as the power of Māra. But this merit [the merit of these four groups of ethical concepts, beginning at Right Conduct, and culminating in Arahantship]² expands, brethren, by the taking up into oneself of that which is good.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Glad at heart the brethren rejoiced at the words of the Exalted One.

(Here ends the Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Suttanta.)

¹ That is to say, the Fruition of Arahantship. Comy.

² This is added from Buddhaghosa. He does not think that the merit referred to is the conquest of Māra. That follows from the destruction of the mental intoxications. See above, I, 92, and § 1 of this Suttanta.

XXVII. AGGAÑÑA SUTTANTA.¹

A BOOK OF GENESIS.

[80] Thus have I heard :

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Sāvattthi, in the East Park, at the mansion of the Mother of Migāra.² Now at that time Vāsetṭha and Bhāradvāja were passing their probation among the brethren, desiring to become bhikkhus.³ Then at eventide the Exalted One, having arisen from his meditations, had come down from the house, and was walking to and fro in the open air, in the shade of the house.

2. Now Vāsetṭha saw this, and on seeing it he told Bhāradvāja, adding : Let us go, friend Bhāradvāja, let us approach the Exalted One, for perchance we might have the good fortune to hear from the Exalted One a talk on matters of doctrine.

Even so, friend, Bhāradvāja made reply. So Vāsetṭha and Bhāradvāja went and approached the Exalted One, and having saluted him, they walked after him as he walked to and fro.

3. Then the Exalted One said to Vāsetṭha : [81] You, Vāsetṭha, being brahmins by birth and family, have gone forth from a brahmin family, your home,

¹ On the subject of this Suttanta see Introduction to I, 105 f.

² Visakha. Buddhaghosa gives an account of her and her mansion, built for the Order, which is much shorter, but in agreement with the full narrative contained in the Dhammapada Comy. I, 334 ff. The vast majority of houses were in the oldest Buddhist period in North India what we should now call huts. We hear only of a very few such pāsādas or mansions. Tradition describes this one as a bungalow with one upper storey. In the Mahā-sudassana (above, Vol. II) we have a description of the most glorious palace the early Buddhists could think of. It is a modest affair. The archæological evidence is discussed in Buddhist India, pp. 63-77, Figs. 3-11.

³ The Comy. identifies these two with the two brahmins of the Tevijja Suttanta (above, I, 301) and the Vāsetṭha Suttas of Majjhima, Sutta 98, and Sutta-Nipāta, Sutta 35.

into the homeless life. Do not the brahmins blame and revile you ?

Yea, verily, lord, the brahmins do blame and revile us with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted.

But in what words, Vāseṭṭha, do they so blame you ?

The brahmins, lord, say thus : The brahmin class¹ is the best.

But in what terms, Vāseṭṭha, do the brahmins blame and censure you to this extent ?

The brahmins, lord, say thus :

Only a brahmin is of the best social grade ; other grades are low. Only a brahmin is of a clear complexion ; other complexions are swarthy. Only brahmins are of pure breed ; not they that are not of the brahmins. Only brahmins are genuine children of Brahmā, born of his mouth, offspring of Brahmā, created by Brahmā, heirs of Brahmā. As for you, you have renounced the best rank, and have gone over to that low class—to shaven recluses, to the vulgar rich, to them of swarthy skins, to the footborn descendants. Such a course is not good, such a course is not proper, even this, that you, having forsaken that upper class, should associate with an inferior class, to wit, with shaveling friar-folk, menials, swarthy of skin, the off-scouring of our kinsman's heels. In these terms, lord, do the brahmins blame and revile us with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted.

4. Surely, Vāseṭṭha, the brahmins have quite forgotten the past (the ancient lore) when they say so ? On the contrary, brahminees, the wives of brahmins, are known to be fertile, are seen to be with child [82], bringing forth and nursing children. And yet it is these very womb-born brahmins who say that . . . brahmins are genuine children of Brahmā, born from his mouth ; his offspring, his creation, and his heirs ! By this they make a travesty² of the nature of Brahmā.

¹ Vanna. Literally, colour, which never means caste. See above, I, 99 ff.

² Abbhācikkhanti Brahmāṇaṃ. The verb often means to misrepresent another's opinions (Majjh. I, 368 ; Dīgha I,

It is false what they say, and great is the demerit that they thereby earn.

5. There are these four classes, *Vāsetṭha* : nobles, brahmins, tradesfolk, workpeople.¹ Now here and there a noble deprives a living being of life, is a thief, is unchaste, speaks lies, slanders, uses rough words, is a gossip, or greedy, or malevolent, or holds wrong views. Thus we see that qualities which are immoral and considered to be so, which are blameworthy and considered to be so, which ought not to be sought after and are so considered, which are unworthy of an Ariyan and are so considered, qualities sinister and of sinister effect, discountenanced by the wise, are to be found here and there in such a noble. And we may say as much concerning brahmins, tradesfolk and workpeople.

6. Again, here and there a noble abstains from murder, theft, in chastity, lying, slandering, gossiping, greed, malevolence and false opinions. Thus we see that qualities which are, and are considered, moral, in-offensive, unexceptional, truly Ariyan, benign and of benign effect, commended by the wise, are to be found here and there in a noble. And we may say as much concerning each of the others—brahmins, tradesfolk [83] and workpeople.

7. Now seeing, *Vāsetṭha*, that both bad and good qualities, blamed and praised respectively by the wise, are thus distributed among each of the four classes, the wise do not admit those claims which the brahmins put forward. And why? Because, *Vāsetṭha*, whoever among all these four classes becomes a bhikkhu, an Arahant, one who has destroyed the deadly taints, who has lived the life, has done that which was to be done, has laid down the burden, has attained his own salvation,² has destroyed the fetter of rebirth,³ and has

161; Ang. III, 57; Vin. IV, 135). The root *cikh* is to take note of, observe.

¹ *Khattiya*, *brahmaṇā*, *vessā*, *suddā*.

² *Buddhaghosa* permits an alternative meaning of *sadattho* either as *sundaro*, or *sako attho*: excellent or own advantage.

³ *-taphā* (Comy.).

become free because he has perfected knowledge¹—he is declared chief among them, and that in virtue of a norm (a standard), and not irrespective of a norm. For a norm, Vāsetṭha, is

the best among this folk²
both in this life and in the next.³

8. The following, Vāsetṭha, is an illustration for understanding how a norm is the best among this folk both in this life and in the next. King Pasenadi of Kosala is aware that the Samaṇa Gotama has gone forth from the adjacent⁴ clan of the Sākiyas. Now the Sākiyas are become the vassals of King Pasenadi. They render to him homage and respectful salutation, they rise and do him obeisance, and treat him with ceremony. Now, just as the Sākiyas treat King Pasenadi of Kosala, [84] so does the king treat the Tathāgata. For he thinks: Is not the Samaṇa Gotama well born⁵? Then I am not well born. The Samaṇa Gotama is strong, I am weak. He is attractive, I am not comely; the Samaṇa Gotama has great influence, I have but little influence. Now it is because the king honours a norm, reveres a norm, regards a norm, does homage

¹ *Sammā hetunā kāraṇena jānitvā vimutto* (Comy.).

² *Imasmiṃ loke ti attho*; the world's inhabitants. The verse from which this is quoted is given in full at the end of this Dialogue, § 32.

³ We take *dhamma* here (the word rendered norm, standard) in the sense attributed to it by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her discussion of this passage in *Buddhism* (Home University Library) pp. 235 ff. The remarkable utterance we find in this passage is only one of many in which the Normalism (as distinct from Animism) of the Buddhist position is emphasized. There is nothing metempirical about it. It is the cosmic law which is the Norm or standard, by which alone superiority or inferiority is to be judged.

⁴ We read *anantarā*, not *anuttaro*. See note in text. The Comy. has the following: *anantarā ti antara-vira-hitā* (or *vihitā*), *attano kulena sadisā ti attho*. It agrees better with the context, which does not call for such a word as *anuttaro*.

to a norm, holds sacred a norm, that he renders homage and respectful salutation to the Tathāgata, rising and doing him obeisance, and treating him with ceremony.¹ By this illustration may it be understood how a norm is

the best among this folk
both in this life and in the next.

9. You, Vāsetṭha, who, differing all of you in birth, in name, in clan and family, have gone forth from home into the homeless life, may be asked: Who are ye? Then do ye reply: We be Samanas who follow him of the sons of the Sākiyans. He, Vāsetṭha, whose faith in the Tathāgata is settled, rooted, established and firm, a faith not to be dragged down by recluse or brahmin, by deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world, well may he say: I am a veritable son of the Exalted One, born from his mouth, born of the Norm, created by the Norm, heir of the Norm. And why? Because, Vāsetṭha, these are names tantamount to Tathāgata: Belonging to² the Norm, and again, belonging to the highest,³ and again, one with the Norm,⁴ and again, one with the Highest.

10. There comes a time,⁵ Vāsetṭha, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long period, this world

¹ See M. II, 112, 120, where the homage paid is of the humblest.

² Dhammakāyo. Lit. having a Norm-body. Buddha-ghosa says: why is the Tathāgato said to have a Norm-body? Because having devised the Three-Pitaka-Buddha-word by his mind he conducts it forth by his speech. Therefore his body from having Normness (dhammatā) is considered as the Norm, and is so called. And just because of this Norm-body-ness, he has an excellent body, for Norm is called brahma in the sense of best, supreme, excellent . . . thus far the Exalted One having spoken in terms of values, goes on to speak in those terms by another method, beginning, There comes a time, etc.

³ Brahma—i.e. says the Comy. brahma in the sense of best (setthaṭṭhena).

⁴ Lit. Norm-become—i.e. says the Comy. of-the-nature-of-the-Norm (Dhamma-sabbhāvo).

⁵ This paragraph occurs in Vol. I, p. 30, verbatim, as to the former half, fuller as to the latter half.

passes away. And when this happens, beings have mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance; and there they dwell, made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous, traversing the air, continuing in glory; and thus they remain for a long, long period of time. There comes also a time, Vāsetṭha, when sooner or later this world begins to re-evolve. When this happens, beings who had deceased from the World of Radiance, usually [85] come to life as humans.¹ And they become made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous, traversing the air, continuing in glory, and remain thus for a long, long period of time.

11. Now at that time, all had become one world of water, dark, and of darkness that maketh blind. No moon nor sun appeared, no stars were seen, nor constellations, neither was night manifest nor day, neither months nor half-months, neither years nor seasons, neither female nor male. Beings were reckoned just as beings only. And to those beings, Vāsetṭha, sooner or later after a long time, earth with its savour was spread out in the waters. Even as a scum forms on the surface of boiled milky rice that is cooling, so did the earth appear. It became endowed with colour, with odour, and with taste. Even as well-made ghee or pure butter, so was its colour; even as the flawless honey of the bee, so sweet was it.

12. Then, Vāsetṭha, some being of greedy disposition,² said: Lo now! what will this be? and tasted the savoury earth with his finger. He thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour, and craving entered into him. And other beings, following his example, tasted the savoury earth with their finger. They thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour, a craving entered into them. Then those beings began to feast on the savoury earth, breaking off lumps of it with their hands. And

¹ Lit. come to 'hereness' which the Comy. explains as humanity. The description of them is scarcely human, but their birth, says Buddhaghosa, is *opapātika*. See I, 201, n. 3. Cf Ambapāli's birth, Psalms of the Sisters, 120.

² Greedy in his previous birth, remarks the Comy.

from [86] the doing thereof the self-luminance of those beings faded away. As their self-luminance faded away, the moon and the sun became manifest. Thereupon star-shapes and constellations became manifest. Thereupon night and day became manifest, months too and half-months, the seasons and the years. Thus far then, Vāsetṭha, did the world evolve again.

13. Now those beings, Vāsetṭha, feasting on the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued thus for a long long while. And in measure as they thus fed, did their bodies become solid, and did variety in their comeliness become manifest. Some beings were well favoured, some were ill favoured. And herein they that were well favoured despised them that were ill favoured, thinking : We are more comely than they ; they are worse favoured than we. And while they through pride in their beauty thus became vain and conceited, the savoury earth disappeared. At the disappearance of the savoury earth, they gathered themselves together and bewailed it : Alas for the savour ! alas for the savour ! Even so now when men having gotten a good savour say : Ah, the savour of, it ! ah, the savour of it ! they do but follow an ancient primordial saying, not recognizing the significance thereof.

14. Then, Vāsetṭha, when the savoury earth [87] had vanished for those beings, outgrowths appeared in the soil. The manner of the rising up thereof was as the springing up of the mushroom,¹ it had colour, odour and taste ; even as well-formed ghee or fine butter so was the colour thereof, and even as flawless honeycomb so was the sweetness thereof. Then those beings began to feast on these outgrowths of the soil. And they, feasting on them, finding food and nourishment in them, continued for a long long while. And

¹ A hicchattako. Literally snake-hood, but that this was used idiomatically for a kind of mushroom shaped like a snake's hood appears from Jātaka II, 95 and Udāna, p. 81, note. The Sanskrit lexicons give the names of several other plants called snake-hood, and the plant here meant is not certain. We do not know whether mushrooms are found at all in North India.

in measure as they thus fed and were thus nourished, so did their bodies grow ever more solid, and the difference in their comeliness more manifest, some becoming well favoured, some ill favoured. Then they that were well favoured despised them that were ill favoured, thinking: We are more comely than they; they are worse favoured than we. And while they, through pride in their beauty, thus became vain and conceited, these outgrowths of the soil disappeared. Thereupon creeping plants¹ appeared, and the manner of the growth thereof was as that of the bamboo, and they had colour, odour and taste. Even as well-made ghee or fine butter so was the colour thereof; even as flawless honeycomb so was the sweetness thereof.

15. Then, Vāsetṭha, those beings began to feast on the creepers. And they, feasting on them, feeding on them, nourished by them, continued so for a long long while. And in measure as they thus fed and were nourished did their bodies wax more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness increase, [88] so that, as before, the better favoured despised the worst favoured. And while those, through pride in their beauty, became vain and conceited, the creepers disappeared. At the disappearance thereof they gathered themselves together and bewailed, saying: Verily it was ours, the creeper! Now it has vanished away! Alas and O me! we have lost! Even so now when men, being asked what is the matter, say: Alas and O me! what we had that have we lost! they do but follow an ancient primordial saying, not recognizing the significance thereof.

16. Then, Vasetṭha, when the creepers had vanished for those beings, rice appeared ripening in open spaces,²

No powder had it and no husk.

[Pure,] fragrant and clean grained.³

¹ Badalatā. A beautiful creeper of sweet taste, says Buddhaghosa.

² Akatṭha-pāko. According to the Comy. springing up in land free from jungle.

³ R. O. Franke is probably right in supposing that we have

Where of an evening they gathered and carried away for supper, there next morning the rice stood ripe and grown again. Where in the morning they gathered and carried away for breakfast, there in the evening it stood ripe and grown again. No break was to be seen [where the husks had been broken off].

Then those beings feasting on this rice in the clearings, feeding on it, nourished by it, so continued for a long long while. And in measure as they, thus feeding, went on existing, so did the bodies of those beings become even more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness more pronounced. In the female appeared the distinctive features of the female,¹ in the male those of the male. Then truly did woman contemplate man too closely, and man, woman. In them contemplating over much the one the other, passion arose and burning entered their body. They in consequence thereof followed their lusts. And beings seeing them so doing threw, some, sand, some, ashes, [89] some, cowdung, crying: Perish, foul one! perish, foul one! How can a being treat a being so? Even so now when men, in certain districts, when a bride is led away, throw either sand, or ashes, or cowdung, they do but follow an ancient enduring primordial form, not recognizing the significance thereof.

17. That which was reckoned immoral at that time, Vāsetṭha, is now reckoned to be moral. Those beings who at that time followed their lusts, were not allowed to enter village or town either for a whole month or even for two months. And inasmuch as those beings at that time quickly incurred blame for immorality, they set to work to make huts, to conceal just that immorality.

here a fragment of an old ballad, and should therefore add 'pure' s u d d h o. See below, § 18. There are quite a number of such apparent fragments of verse in the prose texts. See the notes of Vinaya Texts I, 149, and Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E.), p. 107. The apparent verse is here (as often) very poor verse.

¹ Those who had been women in a previous birth, explains Buddhaghosa.

Then Vāsetṭha, this occurred to some being of a lazy disposition : Lo now ! why do I wear myself out fetching rice for supper in the evening, and in the morning for breakfast ? What if I were to fetch enough rice for supper and breakfast together ? So he gathered at one journey enough rice for the two meals together.

Then some being came to him and said : Come, good being, let us go rice-gathering. That's not wanted, good being, I have fetched rice for the evening and morning meal. Then the former followed his example and fetched rice for two days at once, saying : So much, they say, will about do. Then some other being came [90] to this one and said : Come, good being, let us go rice-gathering. And he : Never mind, good being, I have fetched rice enough for two days. [And so, in like manner, they stored up rice enough for four, and then for eight days.]

Now from the time, Vāsetṭha, that those beings began to feed on hoarded rice, powder enveloped the clean grain, and husk enveloped the grain, and the reaped or cut stems did not grow again ; a break became manifest [where the reaper had cut] ; the rice-stubble stood in clumps.

18. Then those beings, Vāsetṭha, gathered themselves and bewailed this, saying : Evil customs, sirs, have appeared among men. For in the past, we were made of mind, we fed on rapture, self-luminous, we traversed the air in abiding loveliness ; long long the period we so remained. For us sooner or later, after a long long while the savoury earth had arisen over the waters. Colour it had, and odour and taste. We set to work to make the earth into lumps, and feast on it. As we did so our self-luminance vanished away. When it was gone, moon and sun became manifest, [91] star-shapes and constellations, night and day, the months and half-months, the seasons and the years. We enjoying the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became rife among us,

the savoury earth disappeared. When it had ceased outgrowths of the soil became manifest, clothed with colour, odour and taste. Them we began to enjoy ; and fed and nourished thereby, we continued so for a long long while. But when evil and immoral customs arose among us, these outgrowths disappeared. When they had vanished, creepers appeared clothed with colour, odour and taste. Them we turned to enjoy ; and fed and nourished thereby we continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became prevalent among us, the creepers also disappeared. When they had ceased rice appeared, ripening in open spaces, without powder, without husk, pure, fragrant and clean grained. Where we plucked and took away for the evening meal every evening, there next morning it had grown ripe again. Where we plucked and took away for the morning meal, there in the evening it had grown ripe again. There was no break visible. Enjoying this rice, feeding on it, nourished by it, we have so continued a long long while. But from evil and immoral customs becoming manifest among us, powder has enveloped the clean grain, husk too has enveloped the clean grain, and where we have reaped is no re-growth ; a break has come, and the rice-stubble stands in [92] clumps. Come now, let us divide off the rice fields and set boundaries thereto ! And so they divided off the rice and set up boundaries round it.

19. Now some being, Vāsetṭha, of greedy disposition, watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. They took him and holding him fast, said : Truly, good being, thou hast wrought evil in that, while watching thine own plot, thou hast stolen another plot and made use of it. See, good being, that thou do not such a thing again ! Ay, sirs, he replied. And a second time he did so. And yet a third. And again they took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning, Vāsetṭha, did stealing appear, and censure and lying and punishment became known.

20. Now those beings, Vasetṭha, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things, saying : From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, inas-much as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished ? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice.

[93] Then, Vasetṭha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him : Come now, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a proportion of our rice.

And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice.

21. Chosen by the whole people, Vāsetṭha, is what is meant by Mahā Sammata ;¹ so Mahā Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase to arise [for such an one].² Lord of the Fields is what is meant by Khattiya ; so Khattiya (Noble) was the next expression to arise. He charms the others by the Norm—by what ought (to charm)—is what is meant by Rāja ; so this was the third standing phrase to arise.

Thus then, Vasetṭha, was the origin of this social circle of the Nobles, according to the ancient primordial phrases [by which they were known]. Their origin was from among those very beings, and no others ; like unto themselves, not unlike ; and it took

¹ Mahā Sammata. Name of a famous king in the beginning of time, who was the first king of the Solar race, and the legendary ancestor of many lines of kings (among others of the kings of the Sākiya clan).

² Akkhara, the enduring, came later on to mean letter. At the end of § 16 we have rendered it form (of speech). Cf. § 18.

place according to the Norm [according to what ought to be, justly], not unfittingly.¹

For, Vāsetṭha .

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this world and in the next.²

22. Now it occurred, Vāsetṭha, to some of those beings, as follows: Evil deeds, sirs, have become manifest among us, inasmuch as stealing, censure, lying, punishment can be noticed, and banishment. Let us now put away from us evil and immoral customs. And they put away from them such customs. [94] They put away (bāhenti) evil, immoral customs. Vāsetṭha, is what is meant by Brahmins, and thus was it that Brahmins became the earliest standing phrase [for those who did so]. They, making leaf huts in woodland spots, meditated therein. Extinct for them the burning coal, vanished the smoke, fallen lies pestle and mortar; gathering of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, they go down into village and town and royal city, seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leaf-huts they meditate. When men saw this, they said :

¹ No *adhammena*. The argument is that there was no tribal difference, no difference of blood, between them and all the rest. They were selected, set apart, for the performance of certain duties, and they were so selected, not arbitrarily, but according to their real fitness for the post. Each of them fulfilled the Ideal of a noble, which included, not only righteousness, but also other things. As will be seen, there was also an ideal, a standard, a Norm, for each of the other groups.

² The etymologies in this paragraph are purely fanciful; and as a matter of fact the historical order in which the three words are said to have arisen is exactly reversed. *Rāja* is the oldest of the three—belonging, as it does, to the oldest Aryan stock of words, and being found in Latin and Welsh. *Khattiya* is the next, and *Mahā Sammata* is the youngest of all. But it would show a strange ignorance of history to complain of this. Such plays upon words are common to all ancient literatures. Scientific etymology is a growth of yesterday. The author or authors of this passage (and of all similar ones) were thinking, of course, not of etymology, but of what they regarded as matter of the highest import.

These good beings, having made unto themselves leaf-huts in the forest region, meditate therein. For them burning coal is extinct, smoke is known no more, pestle and mortar have fallen from their hands; they gather of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, and go down into village and town and royal city seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leaf-huts they meditate. They meditate (*jhāyanti*), *Vāseṭṭha*, is what is meant by the brooding one (*jhāyakā*). Thus was it that this was the second phrase that arose.

23. Now certain of those beings, *Vāseṭṭha*, being incapable of enduring this meditation in forest leaf-huts, went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, making books.¹ When men saw this, they said: These good beings, being incapable of enduring meditation in forest leaf-huts, have gone down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, and there they make books. But they cannot meditate. Now, These meditate not, *Vāseṭṭha*, is what is meant by *Ajjhāyakā* (repeaters, viz., of the Vedas).

Thus this third phrase for such people came into use. At that time they were looked upon as the lowest; now they are thought the best.

Such then, *Vāseṭṭha*, according to the ancient, yea, primordial, expressions by which they were known, was the origin of this social circle of the Brahmins.² [95] Their origin was from just those beings [above referred to]; beings like unto themselves, not unlike; [and it took place] according to the Norm [according to what ought to be, justly] not unfittingly.

For, *Vāseṭṭha*,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

¹ *Ganthe karontā; tayo Vede abhisankharontā c'eva vācentā ca*, says the Comy.—compiling the three Vedas and teaching others to repeat them.

² *Brāhmaṇa-maṇḍalassāti Brāhmaṇa-gaṇassa*, says Buddhaghosa.

24. Now, Vāsetṭha, there were some others of those beings who, adopting the married state, set on foot various trades. That they, adopting the married state, set on foot various [vissa] trades is, Vāsetṭha, the meaning of vessā (tradesfolk). So this word came into use as a standing expression for such people. The origin, Vāsetṭha, of the social group called the Vessas was in accordance with this ancient, yea, primordial designation. It was from just those beings [above described] beings like unto themselves, not unlike. And it took place in accordance with the Norm [according to what ought to be, justly] not unfittingly.

For, Vāsetṭha,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

25. Now, Vāsetṭha, those of these beings that remained over took to hunting. But those that live on hunting, and suchlike trifling pursuits, is what is meant by Suddā (the lowest grade of folk).¹ Thus then, according to the ancient, yea, primordial expression, is the origin of this social group called Suddas. Their origin was from just those beings (above described), beings like unto themselves, not unlike; [and it took place] according to the Norm, [according to what ought to be] not unfittingly, namely, from those who were not different from other beings, but like them, not unlike them, by a norm and not through lack of a norm.

For, Vāsetṭha,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

¹ Both the readings here and the logic of the word-play are doubtful. If the readings are right we have—instead of the usual half pun, half riddle—a mere jingle of rhymes, ludda, khudda, sudda, hunter, mean fellow, low grade. Our modern nobles would lift their eyebrows at so amazing a mixture of epithets, and it would be quite in the spirit of these Suttantas if that touch of irony were really the point of the rhyme. It would be quite as apposite then in India as here in Europe when Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus* gave us his vivid sketch of the noble sportsman.

26. Now there came a time, Vāsetṭha, when some Khattiya, misprizing his own norm, went forth from home into the homeless life, saying: I will become a recluse. Some Brahmin too did the same, likewise some Vessa [96] and some Sudda, each finding some fault in his particular norm. Out of these four groups or circles, Vāsetṭha, the company of the recluses came into being. Their origin was from just these beings like unto themselves, not different. And it took place according to a norm [a fitness, justly], not unfittingly.

For, Vāsetṭha,

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

27. Now a khattiya, Vāsetṭha, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory.¹ And a Brahmin too . . . a Vessa too . . . a Sudda too, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory.

28. Again, Vāsetṭha, a Khattiya . . . or Brahmin . . . or Vessa . . . or Sudda, who has led a good life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are as they should be, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in a happy, bright world.

29. Again, Vāsetṭha, a Khattiya . . . a Brahmin, too [97] . . . a Vessa, too . . . a Sudda, too, who has lived a life both good and bad,² in deed, word and thought;

¹ Cf. II, 51.

² Lit. a double-doer, *dva-ya-kāri*. Buddhaghosa's elaboration of this destiny in outline is of interest: There is no opportunity where both results may be incurred at the same moment. But one who has wrought much bad and slight good may be reborn as a Khattiya or Brahmin, because of that good, yet be

whose views of life are mixed, will, in consequence of his mixed views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death suffering both happiness and unhappiness.

30. Again, *Vāsetṭha*, a *Khattiya* . . . a Brahmin, too . . . a *Vessa*, too . . . a *Sudda*, too, who is self-restrained in deed, word and thought, and has followed after the practice of the seven principles which are the Wings of Wisdom,¹ attains to complete extinction [of evil]² in this present life.

31. For, *Vāsetṭha*, whosoever of these Four classes becomes, as a *bhikkhu*, an arahant, who has destroyed the intoxicants, who has done that which it behoved him to do, who has laid down the burden, who has won his own salvation, who has wholly destroyed the fetter of re-becoming, who through knowledge made perfect is free,—he is declared chief among them. in virtue of a norm, not in the absence of a norm. For, *Vāsetṭha*.

The norm's the best among this folk,
Both in this life and in the next.

32. Now this verse, *Vāsetṭha*, was spoken by *Brahmā*, the Eternal Youth:³

one-eyed or a hunchback or a cripple, or he may be worthy of a kingdom, yet be unable to come into his own. In another case, when he is dying, his good and bad karma attend him like two strong wrestlers, and the stronger bad karma prevailing, he is reborn as an animal, but, the good karma persisting, he becomes a state-elephant, or state-horse, or state-buffalo.

¹ These seven, in the ancient commentary, embedded in the text of the *Vibhanga* are explicitly limited to the seven *Bojjhangas* (p. 249; cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids's Preface, xiv; also A. III, 70, 71; IV. 351). In the present Comy. *Euddhaghosa* defines them as the thirty-seven, divided, as Four *Satipatṭhānas*, etc., into seven. But see below, p. 96, § 3, where the thirty-seven would surely have been called *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*, instead of just *kusalā*, had the thirty-seven been so entitled, when the Dialogues were compiled.

² *Kilesa-parinibbānena parinibbāti*. Comy.

³ Recurs Vol. I, p. 122, and *Samyutta* I, 153; II, 284.

The Khattiya is the best among this folk
 Who put their trust in lineage.
 But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed,
 Is best of all 'mong spirits and men.

Now this stanza, Vāsetṭha, was well sung and not ill sung by Brahmā the Eternal Youth, well said and not ill said, full of meaning and not void thereof. I too, Vāsetṭha, say : [98]

The Khattiya is the best among this folk
 Who put their trust in lineage.
 But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed,
 Is best of all 'mong spirits and men.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased at heart Vāsetṭha and Bhāradvāja rejoiced in what the Exalted One had said.

Here ends the Aggañña-Suttanta.

XXVIII. SAMPASĀDANIYA SUTTANTA.

THE FAITH THAT SATISFIED.

[99] THUS have I heard :

1. At one time the Exalted One was staying near Nālandā in the Pāvārika Mango Wood.¹

Now the venerable Sāriputta came to the place where the Exalted One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side and said :—Lord! such faith have I in the Exalted One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether recluse or Brahman, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.²

Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sāriputta! thou hast roared a veritable lion's roar in this that thou hast said. Of course then thou hast known all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Arahants, Awakened Ones, comprehending their minds with thy mind, and aware what was their conduct, [100] what their doctrines,³ what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and the liberty to which they attained?

Not so, lord.

Of course then thou hast perceived all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the future will be Arahants, Awakened Ones, comprehending their minds with thy mind, and aware what will be their conduct . . .

¹ Cf. Vol. I, 276; II, p. 87; Samyutta IV, 23, 110, 311; V, 159; Jāt. V, 443. The present Suttanta repeats the conversation of the second citation and gives a long sequel. Pāvārika, according to the Comy., was a rich burgess (setthi) who had presented vihāra and park (uyyāna) to the Buddha. He is not identified with Pāvāriya, the setthi who presented the mango-grove at Kosambi (Comy. I, 318; Dhṛp. Comy. I, 203 f.

² Enlightenment, sambodhi.

³ Evaṃdhamma; omitted in the previous translation. Cf. II, 6; 88.

doctrines . . . wisdom . . . mode of life and . . . liberty?

Not so, lord.

But at least then, Sāriputta, thou knowest that I now am Arahant, an Awakened One, comprehending my mind with thy mind, and aware that thus is the Exalted One's conduct, such is his wisdom, such his doctrine, such his mode of life, and such the liberty to which he has attained?

Not so, lord.

Lo! here, Sāriputta, no knowledge hast thou concerning Arahants, Awakened Ones, past, future or present. Why then forsooth are thy words so grand and bold? Why hast thou roared this all-comprehensive lion's roar?

2. Lord! no knowledge have I concerning the minds of past, future and present Arahants, Awakened Ones. I only know, lord, the lineage of the Norm.¹ Just as [101] a king, lord, might have a border-city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and towers, and with only one gate. And there might be a warden of the gate, discreet and clever and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only them that were known. And he, on patrolling in his sentry-walks over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where anything as small as a cat could get past. He would think: Whatever bulkier creatures either enter or leave this city, they all pass only by this gate. Only thus is it, lord, that I know the lineage of the Norm. They who in the long ages of the past were Arahants, Supremely Awakened Ones, putting away the five Hindrances, suppressing the corruptions of the mind by wisdom, with hearts well established in the four exercises for setting up mindfulness, thoroughly exercising themselves in the seven branches of enlightenment, have wholly awaked to the uttermost awakening. They who in the long ages of the future will be Arahants,

¹ Dhamm'anvayo. Or of the faith (II, 88. Cf. Saṃyutta II, 58). I.e., lit. what is in conformity with the Dhamma.

Supremely Awakened Ones, will do likewise. And the Exalted One too, who now, lord, is Arahant Supremely Awakened, he too hath done likewise.

It¹ happened one day, lord, [102] that I had come to the Exalted One to listen to the exposition of the Norm. And the Exalted One taught me doctrine, each point ever more excellent than the last, with comparison of the things of light and the things of darkness. Now while the Exalted One was teaching me the Norm, after this sort, even so I, understanding that Norm, perfected among doctrines one certain doctrine, namely, faith² in the Master. And I confessed in my heart: The Exalted One is supremely awakened; well taught by him is the Norm; blessed is the Order.

3. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassed: the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning righteous doctrines³; I mean the Four Exercises in setting up Mindfulness, the Four Supreme Efforts, the Four Roads to Saintship, the Five Moral Powers, the Five Forces, the Seven Branches of Enlightenment, the Aryan Eightfold Path [showing how] a bhikkhu by destruction of the intoxicants may

¹ According to Buddhaghosa on this passage Sāriputta is here alluding to the conversation between the Buddha and Sāriputta's nephew, Digha-nakha, recorded in Majjhima I, 497 foll. Dhammapāla in his commentary on Th. I, 995 says the same (see Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 341, 345). It was then that Sāriputta, listening to the talk, reached emancipation.

² Pasidi. There is no English word that quite fits this or its variants pasādo, pasanno. They are expressions of the satisfaction akin to æsthetic gratification (Cf. B.P.E. 174, n. 3) felt by the believer in whom faith, confidence, amounts to a passion, akin to religious love.

³ Kusalesu dhammesu, afterwards called the thirty-seven bodhipakkhiyā dhamma (Cf. C. Rh. D. in Preface to Vibhanga; Compendium of Philosophy, 179, supra, Vol. II, 128). Buddhaghosa distinguishes under kusala the *Jātaka* meaning of that which makes for well-being (*ārogya*), as taught by commonsense, the *Suttanta* meaning or what is ethically right (*anavajja*), as here; and the *Abhidhamma* meaning, as that which is efficient (*kosalla*), makes for absence of pain (*niddaratha*), for happy results (*sukhavipāka*). Cf. The Expositor, pp. 48 f.; 83.

know and realize for himself, even in this life, sane and immune emancipation of intellect and intuition, and so attaining may therein abide. Unsurpassed, lord, is this concerning righteous doctrines. All this the Exalted One understands, and beyond what he understands there is nothing left to understand. Nor is there any other, whether he be recluse or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards righteous doctrines.

4. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassable, the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning our sense-experience,—how the six fields of sense are subjective and objective¹: sight and visible things, hearing and sounds, smell and odours, taste and sapid things, touch and tangible things, mind and mental objects. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning our sense-experience. All this the Exalted One understands, and beyond what he understands there is nothing left to understand. Nor is there any other, [108] whether he be recluse or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards our sense-experience.²

5. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassable: the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning descensions at rebirth:—That there are four modes in descension, thus:—one descends into the mother's womb unknowing,³ abides there unknowing, departs thence unknowing. This is the first mode. Next, one descends into the mother's womb knowingly, but persists there and departs thence unknowing. This

¹ Literally, of the self, and external. The former term includes more than our subjective. Bud. Psy., 141; B.P.E., 207, n. 1; Expositor, 60.

² This refrain is to be understood as repeated in full after each of the remaining fifteen sections of unsurpassables.

³ Comy: *Asampajāno ti ajānanto sammūlho*. These four modes are held by Buddhaghosa to be the mental evolution at rebirth of (1) human beings generally; (2) the eighty great theras; (3) the two chief disciples of any Buddha, Pacceka-Buddhas, and Bodhisats; (4) omniscient Bodhisats (i.e., Bodhisats in their last rebirth) respectively.

is the second mode. Again, one descends and persists knowing, but departs unknowing. This is the third mode. Again, one descends into the mother's womb, knowing, persists there knowing and departs thence knowing. This is the fourth mode of descension. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning descensions at rebirth.

6. Moreover, lord, this too is unsurpassable, the way namely in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the modes of revealing [the mind of another]¹:—that there are four modes, thus:—One reveals by a visible sign, saying Thou art thinking thus, thou hast so and so in thy mind, thy thought is thus. However much one reveals, that is so and not otherwise. This is the first mode of revealing [the mind of another]. Again, one reveals thoughts not by a visible sign, but through hearing a sound uttered by humans or non-humans [Yakkhas, Pisācas], or devas,² and one says:—Thou art thinking thus, thou hast so and so in thy mind, thy thought is thus. However much one reveals, that is so and not otherwise. This is the second mode. Again, one reveals thoughts neither by a visible sign, nor through hearing a sound made by humans or non-humans or devas² [104], but through hearing a rational sound made intelligently and deliberately.³ And one says: Thou art thinking thus, etc. [as before]. This is the third mode of revealing. Again one reveals thoughts in none of these ways, but when achieving concentration, without attention applied on occasion of sense, one then knows intuitively the thoughts of another. And one says: Just according to the aim of the mental activity of this good person even on such and such a

¹ This is the second of the so-called three wonders. See Vol. I, 276 f. = Anguttara I, 170 f.

² Devatā.

³ In the first two modes, the sign and the sound, or noise, have no direct bearing on the thought that is divined, but are applied in the same way as a modern gambler stakes on a number he sees or hears accidentally. In the third mode, the sound is some remark overheard, made by persons chattering or drowsy with sleep. Comy., cf. Points of Controversy, 239, § 9.

in another world.¹ This is the fourth degree of discernment. Unsurpassable is this, lord, concerning degrees of discernment.

8. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the classification of individuals²: that there are seven classes, to wit:—freed-both-ways, freed by insight, having bodily testimony, having gained the view, freed by confidence, follower of wisdom, follower of confidence. Unsurpassable, lord, are these terms for classes of individuals.

9. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One [106] teaches the Norm concerning endeavour:—that there are these seven factors of enlightenment, to wit, the factors of mindfulness, examination of doctrine, energy, zest, serenity, concentration and equanimity. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning endeavour.³

10. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the norm concerning rates of progress:—that there are four such rates of progress, to wit, when progress is difficult and intuition slow, when progress is difficult but intuition comes swiftly,⁴ when progress is easy but intuition is slow, when progress is easy and intuition comes swiftly. In the first case, progress is reckoned as bad both from difficulty and slowness; in the second case, progress is reckoned as bad from its difficulty. In the third case, progress is reckoned as bad from slowness. In the fourth case, progress is reckoned as excellent

¹ The consciousness namely of the Arahant, whom Karma and its consequences no longer affect. Comy.

² Puggala-paññattisu — as differing from the terms conventionally applied—viz., satto, puggalo, naro, poso. The seven qualifying terms are defined in the Puggala-paññatti, p. 14 f., and in the Visuddhi Magga, Paṭipadāñāṇadasana visuddhi-niddesa; cf. also Anguttara I, 73 f., and above, II, 68, 70.

³ It is most unusual to find the seven Bojjhāṅgas called padhānas or efforts. Cf. p. 97, § 3.

⁴ Cf. Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, § 176 f.; Expositor, 243 f.

because of both ease and swiftness. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning rates of progress.

11. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning conduct in speech:—how one should not only use no speech associated with lying, but should also, in seeking to win his case, avoid calumnious,¹ abusive and contentious speech, speaking ever gently words of wisdom, worth treasuring up, and uttered in due season. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning conduct in speech.

12. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the ethical conduct of man:—how such a man should be true and believing, no trickster,² no droner out [of holy words for pay], no diviner, no exorcist, nor [107] hungering to add gain to gain, guarded as to the doors of his senses, abstemious in diet, a peacemaker, devoted to keeping vigil, unfaltering, apt to apply effort, contemplative, mindful, of seemly conversation,³ valiant to go, to endure and to think, not greedy, besides, for worldly pleasures, but heedful and sagacious. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning a man's ethical conduct.

13. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning modes of [receiving] instruction, namely, that there are four such modes: (1) The Exalted One knows through his own [method of] systematic thought,⁴ that a given individual, when carrying out what he has been taught, by the complete destruction of Three Fetters, will

¹ Vebhūtiyaṇ [vācaṇ], paraphrased as bheda-kāra-kavacaṇ, speech causing rupture, schism, division. Cf. Childers's Dict., s.v. and below, XXX, 2, 21.

² Cf. Dialogues, I, 15, § 20. These expressions are discussed in the Comy., *ibid.*, and in Visuddhi Magga, 23 f.

³ Kalyāṇapaṭibhāno, paraphrased as one who is proficient not only in utterance and in converse (vākkaṇa-paṭibhāna-sampanno), but also in relevant or suitable (yutta-) converse, as was Thera Vangisa, concerning whom see *Palms of the Brethren*, 395 f.

⁴ Paccattam yoniso manasikārā.

become a Stream-winner,¹ saved from disaster hereafter, certain to attain enlightenment ; (2) by the complete destruction of Three Fetters, will have so diminished passion and hate and illusion that he will become a Once-Returner, and returning but once to this world will make an end of Ill ; (3) by the complete destruction of the Five ulterior Fetters, will be reborn in a deva-world,² there to pass utterly away, thence never to return ; (4) by the destruction of the Intoxicants will come to know and realize for himself, even in this life emancipation of intellect and emancipation of insight, and will therein abide. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning modes of receiving instruction.

[108] 14. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the knowledge of the [degree of] emancipation to which any given individual will attain. For the Exalted One knows through his own [method of] attending to the cause, whether a given individual will become a Stream-winner,³ Once-Returner, Non-Returner, or Arahant. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning knowledge of the degree of emancipation to be attained by a given individual.

15. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning the doctrines of Eternalism, namely, that there are these three doctrines⁴ :

(1) Some recluse or brahmin by means of ardour, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of thought that, rapt in heart, he calls to mind his various

¹ These and the following technical phrases of Buddhist belief are explained in a previous similar passage in Vol. I, 200.

² *Opaṭṭiko*—i.e., having attained rebirth in deva-world he there gets *Parinibbāna*. *Puggala-Paññatti* Comy. I, § 40 (J.P.T.S., 1913, p. 197).

³ These—the Four Paths and Fruits—are characterized in exactly the same terms as in the preceding paragraph.

⁴ All three are similarly stated in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta*, Vol. I, p. 27 f.

dwelling-places (or births) in times gone by—in one birth, or in two, or three, or four, or five, or ten, or twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand, or in several hundred, or several thousand, or several hundred thousand births, to the effect that ‘There I had such and such a name, was of such and such a lineage and class, lived on such and such food, experienced such and such pains and pleasures [109], had such and such a span of years. And when I fell from thence I was reborn here’ :—thus does he recollect, both as to the manner thereof and in detail, his various dwelling-places in times gone by. And he says to himself : ‘The time that is gone by I know, whether the world was in process of evolution or of dissolution. But I know not the time for to come, whether the world will evolve or dissolve. Eternal is both soul and world, giving birth to nothing new, steadfast as a mountain-peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and though these living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet there *is* only that which is for ever and ever.’ This is the first Eternalist doctrine.

(2) Again, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the same means, calls to mind his dwelling-places in the past for even greater periods, such as one, two, three, four, five, ten, or twenty pairs of world-evolution and dissolution. . . . And he too reflects : ‘The time that is gone by I know, both of the evolution and dissolution of the world, but I know not the time for to come, [110] whether the world will evolve or dissolve. Eternal is both soul and world, giving birth to nothing new, steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and though these living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet there *is* only that which is for ever and ever.’ This is the second Eternalist doctrine.

(3) Again, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the same means, calls to mind his dwelling-places in the

past for even greater periods still, even up to forty world-systems evolving and dissolving. And he too draws the same inference. This is the third Eternalist doctrine.

Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning Eternalist doctrines.

16. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning knowledge of former dwelling-places: how some recluse or brahmin, by means of ardour, of exertion, of application, of earnestness, of careful thought, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he calls to mind his various dwelling-places in times gone by, to wit, in one birth or more [111] up to even several myriads of world-evolutions and dissolutions:—‘There I had such and such a name, lineage, class, so was I nourished, such and for so long were the pleasures and pains I experienced.’ [He calls to mind that] deceasing thence he was reborn in such another place, where he was so-and-so, faring after such and such a sort; that deceasing thence he was reborn here. Thus does he recollect, both as to the manner thereof and in detail, his various dwelling-places in times gone by.

There are devas, lord, whose span of life is not to be reckoned either by counting or by computation,¹ and yet with whatever individuality they have previously existed, whether as corporeal or incorporeal, whether as percipient, non-percipient, or neither, there is reminiscence of former dwelling-place both as to the manner thereof and in detail. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning knowledge as to such reminiscences.

17. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning knowledge of the decease and rebirth of creatures. Thus some recluse or brahmin, by the means aforesaid, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he sees with pure deva-eye, surpassing the sight of men,

¹ Explained in the Comy. as by addition [of units of time], or by mental estimate without division [of time].

beings as they de cease and are reborn ; he recognizes beings as mean or noble, as ill-favoured or well-favoured, as blest or wretched, passing on according to their deeds : Such and such worthy folk, ill-doers¹ in act, word and thought, revilers of the noble ones,² holding wrong views, acquiring karma resulting from wrong views, are reborn after death, at the dissolution of the body, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe. But such and such worthy folk, well-doers in act and word and thought, not revilers of the noble ones, holding right views, acquiring karma resulting from right views, are reborn after death, at the dissolution of the body, [112] in some happy state in heaven. Thus with the pure deva-eye, surpassing the sight of men, does he see beings de ceasing and being reborn. Un-surpassable, lord, is this concerning knowledge of de cease and rebirth.

18. Moreover, lord, unsurpassable is the way in which the Exalted One teaches the Norm concerning modes of supernormal power, that there are two modes, to wit :—(1) Supernormal power which is concomitant with the mental intoxicants and with worldly aims. This is called ignoble [power]. (2) Supernormal power which is not so concomitant. This is called noble [power]. And what, lord, is the former, the ignoble supernormal power? When, lord, some recluse or brahmin, by the means aforesaid, reaches up to such rapture of mind, that rapt in thought he becomes able to enjoy divers modes of supernormal power :³—from being one he becomes multiform, from being multiform, he becomes one ; from being visible he becomes invisible ; he passes without hindrance to the further

¹ This passage occurs in Vol. I, 91, where, by the way, ill-doers has been accidentally omitted. Worthy folk : *bhonto sattā*. English idiom cannot reproduce the courteous *Messieurs* [*ces*] *êtres* of the Pali. Dr. Neumann uses the colloquial *lieben*, dear or good creatures. Cf. above [p. 47, n. 1].

² *Ariya* : Buddhas and their leading disciples.

³ This, the accepted description of *iddhi*, occurs in the *Kevaḍḍha Suttanta*, Vol. I, 277, and in all the *Nikāyas*.

side of a wall, or a battlement, or a mountain, as if through air ; he penetrates up and down through solid ground as if through water ; he walks on water without dividing it as if on solid ground ; he travels cross-legged through the sky, like a bird on the wing ; he touches and feels with the hand even the moon and the sun, of mystic power and potency though they be ; he reaches even in the body up to the heaven of *Brahmā*. This, lord, is the supernormal power, concomitant with the mental Intoxicants and with worldly aims, that is called ignoble. And what, lord, is the second mode, called noble ? This is when a *bhikkhu* can, if he so desire, remain unconscious of disgust amid what is disgusting ; or [113] conscious of disgust amid what is not disgusting, or unconscious of disgust amid what is both disgusting and the opposite ; or conscious of disgust amid what is both disgusting and the opposite ; or, avoiding both that which is disgusting and the opposite, should remain indifferent to them as such, mindful and understanding. This, lord, is the supernormal power, incompatible with mental intoxicants or with worldly aims, which is called noble. Unsurpassable, lord, is this concerning modes of supernormal power.

19. These things the Exalted One understands from beginning to end. And beyond what he understands, nothing is there left to understand ; nor is there any other, whether he be recluse or brahmin, who is greater or wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as to modes of supernormal power.

20. Whatsoever, lord, may be achieved by a clansman who has faith, summons up energy and is steadfast,—by human steadfastness, energy, progress, and patience,—that has been achieved by the Exalted One. For, lord, the Exalted One neither follows the habitual practice of those things which attract through worldly desires, especially sensuality—a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable, belonging to the worldly majority ;—nor does he follow the habitual practice of self-mortification, which

is painful, unworthy, unprofitable.¹ The Exalted One is able to obtain at will, with ease and in full measure, that earthly happiness of a loftier kind² which the Four Stages of Ecstasy afford.

If, lord, anyone were to ask me : What then, friend Sāriputta, have there ever been in times gone by other recluses or brahmins greater and wiser as to enlightenment than the Exalted One? I should say No. What then, friend Sāriputta, will there come in future times other recluses or brahmins greater or wiser as to enlightenment than the Exalted One? Thus asked, I should say No. [114] What then, friend Sāriputta, is there now any other recluse or brahmin greater or wiser as to Enlightenment than the Exalted One? Thus asked, I should say No.

Again, lord, if I were asked : What then, friend Sāriputta, have there been in times gone by . . . will there be in future times other recluses or brahmins equal to the Exalted One, in the matter of Enlightenment? I should say Yea. But if I were asked : Is there now any recluse or brahmin equal to the Exalted One in the matter of Enlightenment, I should say No.

Again, lord, if I were asked : Why does the venerable Sāriputta thus acknowledge the superiority of one teacher, and not that of another? Thus asked, I should say : In the presence of the Exalted One have I heard him say and from him have received, that, whereas in times gone by and in future times there have been, and will be other Supreme Buddhas equal to himself in the matter of Enlightenment, yet that in one and the same world-system³ there should arise two

¹ The two extremes of conduct as stated in the Buddha's First Sermon (Vin. Texts, I, 94; Saṃyutta, V, 421; cf. IV, 330; Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E., XI), 146 f.).

² Abhicetasikānaṃ, paraphrased as kāmāvacaracittāni atikkamitvā thitānaṃ (jhānānaṃ): (ecstasies) persisting when thoughts belonging to sense-experience have been transcended. Lit., ultra-thoughtish.

³ Loka-dhātu. On the extent of a lokadhātu cf. Buddhaghosa here and on Vol. II, 263. On the doctrine cf. Vol. II, 263 : Milinda II, 47 f., a discussion referred to and re-discussed in our Comy.

Arahants Buddhas Supreme, the one neither before nor after the other:—that is impossible and unprecedented.¹ That cannot be.

Should I, lord, [115] answering my questioners thus, be stating the doctrine of the Exalted One, and not misrepresenting him by what is not fact? Should I be stating doctrine in conformity with the Norm, and would no orthodox disputant find occasion for blame herein?

Of a truth, Sāriputta, hadst thou been asked such questions and thus hadst answered, thou hadst stated my doctrine, and hadst not misrepresented me by what is not fact. Thou hast stated doctrine in conformity with the Norm, and no orthodox disputant could have found occasion for blame therein.

21. When they had thus spoken, the venerable Udāyin² said to the Exalted One: Wonderful, lord, marvellous, lord, is it to behold how self-contained, serene, and resigned is the Tathāgata, when he who is so mighty and powerful will not proclaim himself!³ If any Wanderers of independent doctrines were to discern in themselves even one of such matters, they would flourish around a banner because of it. Wonderful, marvellous is it to behold how self-contained, serene and resigned is the Tathāgata, when he who is so mighty and powerful will not proclaim his own virtues!

Take note of this then, Udāyin, that this is so; and that if Wanderers teaching independent doctrines were to discern in themselves even one such quality, they would flourish around a banner about it. Take note of this.

[116] 22. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Sāriputta:—Wherefore thou, Sāriputta,

¹ Anguttara I, 27, § 10; Vibhanga, 336.

² Of the three Theras so-called Lāṇḍāyin, Kāṇḍāyin, and the Great Udāyin this is the last named. Comy. Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 228, with Jāt. I, 123, 446.

³ Attano guṇe na āvikarissati: will not reveal his own virtues. Comy.

shouldst often discourse on this matter to both brethren and sisters, laymen and lay sisters. Whatever foolish ones there be who will feel doubt and hesitation concerning the Tathāgata, when they have heard such discourse, even they too will banish their hesitation and their doubt.

On this wise did the venerable Sāriputta make known his faith before the Exalted One. Hence the title The Faith that Satisfied is another name for his confession.

Here ends the
Fifth Suttanta The Faith that Satisfied.

XXIX. PĀSĀDIKA SUTTANTA.

THE DELECTABLE DISCOURSE.

[117] 1. THUS have I heard. The Exalted One was at one time sojourning among the Sākyans, [at the technical college¹] in the Mango Grove of the Sākyan family named The Archers. Now at that time Nāthaputta the Nigaṇṭha had just died at Pāvā.² And at his death the Nigaṇṭhas³ became disunited and divided into two parties, in mutual strife and conflict, quarrelling and wounding each other with wordy weapons:—Thou dost not understand this doctrine and discipline ; but I do understand it. How shouldst thou understand it ? Thou art in the wrong ; I am in the right ! I am speaking to the point ; thou art not ! Thou sayest last what should be said first, and first what ought to come last ! What thou hast so long excogitated is quite upset ! Thy challenge is taken up ; thou’rt proved to be wrong ! Begone to get rid of thy opinion, or disentangle thyself if thou canst !⁴ Truly the Nigaṇṭhas, followers of Nāthaputta, were out methinks to kill. Even the lay disciples [118] of the white robe, who followed Nāthaputta, showed themselves shocked, repelled and indignant at the Nigaṇṭhas, so badly was their doctrine and discipline set forth and imparted, so ineffectual was it for guidance, so little conducive to peace, imparted as it had been by one who was not supremely enlightened, and

¹ Sippuggahanatthāya kato dighapāsādo atthi : There is a long terraced mansion made for the learning of crafts. Comy.

² In the reference given in Majjhima II, 243 f., to the death of Nāthaputta, the Buddha is stated to have been staying at Sāmāgama, among the Sākyans. See below, § 2. The episode is repeated below, Sangiti Suttanta, XXIII, 1, § 6.

³ On the Nigaṇṭhas see Vol. I, 74 f., 220 f.

⁴ On these wrangling phrases see Vol. I, 14 f. and xx.

now wrecked as it was of his support¹ and without a protector.²

2. Now Cunda the Novice,³ having passed the rainy season at Pāvā, came to see the venerable Ānanda at Sāmāgama, and coming, saluted him and sat down beside him. So seated he said to the venerable Ānanda: Nāthaputta, sir, the Nigaṇṭha has just died at Pāvā. And he being dead, the Nigaṇṭhas have become disunited and divided into two parties, . . . quarrelling and wounding one another . . . so that even the lay disciples . . . show themselves shocked . . . so badly was their doctrine and discipline set forth and imparted . . . imparted as they were by one who was not supremely enlightened, and now they are wrecked of their support and without a protector.

Then said the venerable Ānanda to Cunda the Novice: Friend Cunda, this is a worthy subject to bring before the Exalted One. Let's go to him, and tell him about it.

Very good, sir, replied Cunda the Novice.

3. So the venerable Ānanda and Cunda the Novice sought out the Exalted One and saluting him, and sitting down beside him, told him about the Nigaṇṭhas.

[119] 4. (The Buddha :) Here, Cunda, we have a teacher who was not supremely enlightened, and a doctrine badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual to guide, not conducing to peace, imparted by one who was not supremely enlightened. In such a doctrine, moreover, the disciple does not come to master⁴ the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine,

¹ Bhinnathūpe, lit. having its stūpa broken—a metaphor, says the Comy., for foundation (platform, paṭiṭṭhā).

² Paṭisaraṇaṇ, lit. a resort, to whom, as B. elsewhere explains, all go for injunctions, etc. See Bud. Psy., 1914, p. 69.

³ Pronounce Choonda, the oo as in 'good.' According to Buddhaghosa this is none other than the youngest brother of Sāriputta (and of Revata), called in the Theragāthā Mahācunda. See Pss. of the Brethren, pp. 118 and 350 (where we have tentatively inferred that the Cundas were not identical).

⁴ Cf. for the following phrases Vol. II, 112.

nor to acquire correct conduct, nor to walk according to the precepts, but is perpetually evading that doctrine. To him one might say : Friend, thou hast got [thy gospel], and thou hast got thy opportunity.¹ Thy teacher is not supremely enlightened ; his Norm is badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened. Thou in that doctrine hast not mastered the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, nor acquired correct conduct, nor walkest thou according to those corollaries, but thou dost perpetually evade that doctrine. Thus, Cunda, both that teacher and that doctrine are shown blameworthy, but the disciple is praiseworthy.

Now he who should say to such a disciple : Come, your reverence, practise even according to the doctrine taught and declared by your teacher ! both he who instigates, and he who is instigated, and he too who, being instigated, practises accordingly,---they all of them generate much demerit. And why ? Because their doctrine and discipline are badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened.

5. But consider, Cunda, where, the teacher not being supremely enlightened, and the doctrine being badly set forth, badly imparted, ineffectual for guidance, not conducive to peace, not imparted by one supremely enlightened, the disciple abides in that doctrine, practising the lesser corollaries following on the larger doctrine, acquiring correct conduct and, walking according to the precepts, perpetually conforms to that doctrine. To him one might say : Friend, thou hast been unlucky [in thy teacher], and in thy opportunity ; thy teacher is not supremely [120] enlightened ; thy doctrine is badly set forth and the like ; and thou . . . perpetually conformest to that

¹ Tassa te suladdhaṃ, lit. for thee [is] the well-gotten ; paraphrased as : for thee humanity (reb.rth as human) is well gotten.

doctrine. By these words, Cunda, teacher and doctrine and disciple are all blameworthy. And he who should say : Verily his reverence¹ mastering the system will carry it to a successful end!—he thus commending and he who is commended and he who, thus commended, redoubles the energy he puts forth,—all they generate much demerit. And why? Because their doctrine and discipline have been badly set forth, badly imparted . . . by one who is not supremely enlightened.

6. But consider, Cunda, where the teacher is supremely enlightened, and the doctrine well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one supremely enlightened, but where the disciple in that norm has not mastered the lesser corollaries following on the larger doctrine, nor learnt to practise correct conduct, nor walks according to the precepts, but perpetually evades that doctrine. To him one might say :—Friend, thou hast not succeeded, thou hast missed thy opportunity. Thy teacher is supremely enlightened, and his doctrine is well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened, but thou hast not mastered [it] . . . but dost perpetually evade it? By these words, Cunda, teacher and doctrine are commended, but the disciple is held blameworthy. Now if one were to say to such a disciple :—Come, your reverence, practise in accordance with the doctrine taught and declared by your teacher!—he who instigated, he who was instigated, and he who being instigated practised accordingly, would all of them generate much merit. And why? Because that doctrine and discipline were well set forth, well imparted . . . by one who was supremely enlightened.

[121] 7. But consider, Cunda, where the teacher is supremely enlightened, the doctrine well set forth . . . and where the disciple has mastered [it] . . . and perpetually conforms to it. To him one might say :—

Thou, friend, hast been successful in teacher and in opportunity . . . and thou dost perpetually conform to thy doctrine. By these words, Cunda, teacher and doctrine and disciple are all three deemed praiseworthy. And if one should say to such a disciple:—Verily his reverence has mastered the system and will carry it to a successful end, he who commends, he who is commended and he who, commended, redoubles the energy he is putting forth, do all of them generate much merit. And why? Because, Cunda, that is so when a doctrine and discipline well set forth and well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, have been imparted by one who is supremely enlightened.

8. But consider, Cunda, where a teacher hath arisen in the world, Arahant, supremely enlightened; where a doctrine hath been well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened; but where his disciples have not become proficient in the good Norm, nor has the full scope of the higher life become manifest to them, evident, with all the stages in it co-ordinated, nor has it been made a thing of saving grace¹ for them, [122] well proclaimed among men,² when their teacher passes away.

Now for such a teacher to die, Cunda, is a great affliction for his disciples. And why? Our teacher arose in the world for us, Arahant, supremely enlightened; and a Norm was well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who was supremely enlightened. But we have not become proficient in the good Norm, nor has the full scope of the higher life become manifest to us, evident, with all the stages in it co-ordinated, nor has it been made a thing of saving grace for us.

¹ Sappatthirakataṇ. The apparently elastic import of this term is here (cf. Vol. I, 257, n. 3) further varied by Buddhaghosa, who paraphrases it simply by *niyyānikaṇ*, rendered above (following freely his definition on *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, § 277) by 'effectual for guidance.'

² On this reading see Vol. II, 235 f.

well proclaimed among men. Now has our teacher passed away! For such a teacher to die, Cunda, is a great affliction for his disciples.

9. But consider, Cunda, where a Teacher has appeared in the world who is Arahant, supremely enlightened; where a Norm has been well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened; and where the disciples have become proficient in the good Norm, and where the full scope of the higher life has become manifest to them, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated, and made a thing of saving grace, well proclaimed among men, when that teacher passes away. Now for such a teacher, Cunda, to die is not an affliction for his disciples. And why? 'A Teacher arose in the world for us, Arahant, supremely enlightened; and a Norm was well set forth, well imparted . . . by him. And we have become proficient in the good Norm, and the full scope of the higher life has become manifest to us, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated and made a thing of saving grace, well proclaimed among men. [123] Now is our Teacher passed away!' For such a Teacher to die, Cunda, is not an affliction to his disciples.

10. If a religious system be placed in these circumstances, Cunda, and there be none to take the lead who is a senior brother, experienced, of long standing in the order, of ripe age, arrived at years of discretion, then is that system by this circumstance imperfect. But if there is such an one, then is that system by this circumstance made perfect.

11. Again, if a religious system, Cunda, be placed in these circumstances, and one is found to take the lead who is a senior brother, experienced, of long standing in the Order, of ripe age, arrived at years of discretion, but there be no senior bhikkhus who are disciples, wise and well trained, ready and learned, who have won the goal of religion,¹ who are able to pro-

¹ Patta-yogakkhemā. 'Arahantship'—so the Comy. paraphrases.

pagate the truth, who, having well confuted uprisen opposing schools with their doctrines, are able to teach the Norm with saving grace: then is that system by this circumstance made perfect.

12. In so far, Cunda, as the holy life is furnished with these circumstances:—to wit, with such a leading elder, and with such senior bhikkhus, but if there be no bhikkhus of middle age or standing who are disciples, then is the holy life by this circumstance made imperfect. Or if it lack in certain other respects, it is to that extent imperfect, for instance, if there be no novices who are disciples, or senior¹ Sisters who are disciples, or [124] Sisters of middle standing who are disciples, or Sister novices who are disciples, or if there be no laymen who are disciples, householders of the white robe, holy livers,² or if there be none among those laymen who are wealthy,³ or if there be no laywomen who are disciples, householders of the white robe, holy livers, or if there be none among those laywomen who are wealthy, or if the system be not successful, prosperous, widespread and popular in its full extent, well proclaimed among men, or if the system be all this but have not attained the foremost place in public fame and support:—by any one such circumstance the system is rendered imperfect.

13. And contrariwise, by the presence of each and all these circumstances, [125] is that system rendered perfect.

14. But I, Cunda, have now arisen as a teacher in the world who am Arahant, supremely enlightened. And the Norm is well set forth, well imparted, effectual for guidance, conducive to peace, imparted by one who is supremely enlightened. And my true hearers are proficient in the good Norm, and the full scope of the holy life has become manifest to them, evident, with all its stages co-ordinated, and made a

¹ Therā (*sic*).

² Brahmacārino. Paraphrased as brahmacariyavāsag vasamānāriyasāvaka.

³ Wealthy converts (sotāpannā), qualifies Buddhaghosa.

thing of saving grace for them, well proclaimed among men.

But I, Cunda, the teacher am now grown old, many are the nights I have known, long is it since I went forth, I have reached full age, I have come to my journey's end.

15. Yet senior bhikkhus of mine are there, Cunda, who are disciples, wise and well trained, ready and learned, who have won the peace of the Arahant, who are able to propagate the good Norm, who when others start opposed doctrine, easy to confute by the truth, will be able in confuting it to teach the Norm and its saving grace.

And bhikkhus of middle age and standing now are there, Cunda ; disciples of mine and wise. And novices now are there, Cunda, disciples of mine. And senior Sisters now are there, Cunda, disciples of mine. And Sisters of middle age and standing now are there, Cunda, and novices also, disciples of mine. And laymen now are there, Cunda, householders of the white robe, men of holy life, disciples of mine ; and among these are men of wealth. Laywomen now are there, Cunda, householders of the white robe, disciples of mine ; [126] and among these are women of wealth. And my religion,¹ Cunda, is successful, prosperous, widespread and popular in all its full extent, well proclaimed among men.

16. To what extent, Cunda, there now are teachers arisen in the world, I cannot discern any teacher, who has attained to such a leading position in renown and support as I have. To what extent, Cunda, there now are Orders and companies arisen in the world, I cannot discern any one that has attained to such a leading position in renown and support as the Order of Bhikkhus. If any one, in describing a religion as in every way successful, in every respect complete, neither defective nor redundant, well set forth in all its full extent, were to be speaking rightly, it is this religion that he would be describing.

¹ Brahmacariya.

Uddaka the son of Rāma,¹ Cunda, used to say : Seeing he seeth not. And on seeing what does one not see? Of a well sharpened razor one sees the blade, but one does not see the edge. This is what he meant. And a low pagan thing was this that he spoke, unworthy, unprofitable, suitable to the worldly majority, about a razor forsooth. [127] Now were one to wish to use rightly that phrase, Seeing he does not see, it is thus that he should say : Seeing he seeth not. But what is it that seeing he does not see? A religion that is in every way successful, in every respect complete, neither defective nor redundant, well set forth in all its full extent :— this is what he sees. Were he to abstract some feature at a given point; thinking to make it clearer, then he does not see it. Were he to fill in some feature at a given point, thinking to make it more complete then he does not see it, and thus Seeing he seeth not.

Hence, Cunda, if anyone wishing to describe a religion in every way successful, in every respect complete, neither defective nor redundant, well set forth in all its full extent, were to be speaking rightly, it is this religion of which he should speak.

17. Wherefore, Cunda, do ye, to whom I have made known the truths that I have perceived,² come together in company and rehearse all of you together those doctrines and quarrel not over them, but compare meaning with meaning, and phrase with phrase, in order that this pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of love for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of devas and men!

Which then, Cunda, are the truths which, when I

¹ One of Gotama's two teachers. Vin. Texts I, 89; Majjhima I, 165; Dhammapada Comy. I. 85; Buddhist Birthstories, 89.

² Cf. Vol. II, 127, where the nature of the solemn charge is similar, yet not the same.

had perceived, I made known to you ; which when ye have come together and have associated yourselves, ye are to rehearse, all of you, and not quarrel over, comparing meaning with meaning, and phrase with phrase, in order that this pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of love for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of devas and men ?

They are these :—The Four Onsets of Mindfulness, the Four Supreme Efforts, the Four Paths to Efficacy, the Five Powers, the Five Forces, the Seven [128] Factors of Enlightenment, the Ariyan Eightfold Path. These, O Cunda, are the truths which when I had perceived, I made known to you, and which, when ye have come together and have associated yourselves, ye are to rehearse, all of you, and not quarrel over, comparing meaning with meaning and phrase with phrase, in order that this pure religion may last long, and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of love for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of devas and men.¹

18. You, Cunda, thus met together in concord and in courtesy, suppose that a co-religionist expresses an opinion before the Chapter. Then if you judge that this honourable member has laid hold of the meaning wrongly, or is proposing a wrong form of words, ye are neither to approve of, nor to blame him. Unapproving, unblaming, ye are to address him thus :—Of this meaning, brother, either this is the phraseology or that : which fits it better ? Or :—of these phrases either this is the meaning, or that : which fits them

¹ This summary of Buddhism is word for word the same as that laid before the disciples on the Buddha's last journey (above 11, 127 ff. The note there explains the details). It will be seen that the list amounts to thirty-seven items ; and they are often referred to in later books as the thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment, the *Bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammā* (p. 93 ; 97).

better? If he reply : Of this meaning, brother, just that phraseology is the more fitting, or, Of these phrases, brother, just that meaning fits them better, he is neither to be set aside nor upbraided. Neither setting him aside nor upbraiding him, ye are with careful attention to explain to him both meaning and phraseology.

19. Again, Cunda, suppose that a co-religionist expresses an opinion before the Chapter. Then if you judge that if this honourable member has laid hold of the meaning wrongly, but propagates [129] a right form of words, ye are neither to approve of, nor to blame him. Unapproving, unblaming, ye are to address him thus : Of these different phrases, brother, either this is the meaning or that : which fits them better? If he reply : Of these phrases, brother, just this meaning is the more fitting, he is neither to be set aside, nor to be upbraided. Neither setting him aside, nor upbraiding him, ye are thoroughly to explain to him, with careful attention, the right meaning.

20. So also must ye act, if ye judge that such a speaker has laid hold of the right meaning, but is propagating a wrong form of words ; ye are thoroughly to explain to him, with careful attention, the right phraseology.

21. But if, Cunda, such a speaker say and mean what ye judge to be right, then saying Well said ! ye should approve of and congratulate him. And so saying and doing, ye should thus address him : We are fortunate, brother, this is most fortunate for us that in your reverence we see a co-religionist so expert in the spirit and in the letter !

22. A new doctrine, Cunda, do I teach for subduing [130] the mental intoxicants that are generated even in this present life. I teach not a doctrine for the extirpating of intoxicants in the future life only, but one for subduing them now and also for extirpating them in the after-life.

Wherefore, Cunda, the raiment sanctioned by me

for you, let it suffice for the purpose of warding off cold, for warding off heat, for warding off the touch of gadfly and mosquito, of wind and sun and snakes.¹ The alms which are sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice to sustain the body in life, to keep it going, to prevent injury, to aid you in living the holy life, you taking thought that 'Thus shall I overcome the former sensation, nor cause new sensation to arise. So far shall I both be at ease and incur no blame.'² The lodging which is sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice for you to ward off cold, to ward off heat, to ward off the touch of gadfly and mosquito, of wind and sun and snakes, just for the purpose of avoiding the dangers of the climate and of enjoying seclusion. The provision in drugs and other necessities for sickness which is sanctioned by me for you, let that suffice you so far as it may ward off sensations of illness that have arisen and preserve your health.

23. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers holding other views than ours may say:—Those recluses who follow the Sākyan are addicted and devoted to a life of pleasure.³ Teachers alleging this, Cunda, should be answered thus: What, brother, is it to be addicted and devoted to pleasure? For there are many and manifold modes in which one may be so addicted and devoted.

There are four such modes, Cunda, which are low and pagan, belonging to the average majority, unworthy, not associated with good, not conducing to unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to *higher knowledge*, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. What are the four? Firstly, there is the case of the fool who takes his pleasure and finds gratification in slaying living creatures. Secondly, there is the case of [181] one who takes his pleasure and finds gratification in taking what is not given. Thirdly, there is the case

¹ Cf. Majjhima I, p. 10; Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E. XI, p. 303. Buddhaghosa refers to Visuddhi Magga for details.

² Cf. Dhammasangani, § 1,348.

³ Cf. above, p. 107, § 20.

of one who takes his pleasure and finds gratification in false statements. Fourthly, there is the case of one who dwells surrounded by, and in the enjoyment of the five kinds of sensuous pleasures. These, Cunda, are the four modes of being addicted and devoted to pleasure which are low and pagan, belonging to the average majority, unworthy, disconnected with good, not conducive to unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to insight, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna.

24. It may happen, Cunda, that other teachers may ask: Are those recluses who follow the Sākya addicted and devoted to these four modes? They should be answered Nay, that is not so! They would not be speaking rightly; they would be misrepresenting you by what is not fact, by what is not so.

These are the four modes of being addicted and devoted to pleasure, Cunda, which conduce absolutely to unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to higher knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. What are the four? Firstly, Cunda, when a brother, aloof from sensuous appetites, aloof from evil ideas, enters into and abides in the First Jhāna, wherein there is initiative and sustained thought which is born of solitude and is full of zest and ease.¹ Secondly, when suppressing initiative and sustained thought, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhāna, which is self-evoked, born of concentration, full of zest and ease, in that, set free from initial and sustained thought, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high.² Thirdly, when a brother, no longer fired with zest, abides calmly contemplative, while mindful and self-possessed he feels in his body

¹ It should be borne in mind that the one all-expressive word in Pali for pleasant sensation, pleasure, happiness, ease is *sukha*. Ease here, therefore, must be taken as representing exactly, generically considered, the foregoing term pleasure.

² On the Jhāna-term *ekodibhāva* cf. Expositor, i, p. 226. It is there taken to mean literally state of unique or lonely exaltation.

that ease whereof Ariyans declare : He that is calmly contemplative and aware, he dwelleth at ease, so does he enter into and abide in the Third Jhāna. Fourthly, by putting aside ease and by putting aside mal-aise, by the passing away of the joy and the sorrow he used to feel, [132] he enters into and abides in the Fourth Jhāna, rapture of utter purity of mindfulness and equanimity, wherein neither ease is felt nor any ill. These four modes of being addicted and devoted to pleasure, Cunda, conduce to utter unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation, to peace, to insight, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. If then it happen, Cunda, that Wanderers teaching other doctrines should declare : The Sākyan recluses live addicted and devoted to *these* four modes of pleasure, to them ye should answer Yea. Rightly would they be speaking of you, nor would they be misrepresenting you by what is not fact, by what does not exist.

25. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers teaching other doctrines than ours may declare : For those who live addicted and devoted to *these* four modes of pleasure, brother, how much fruit, how many advantages are to be expected ? Them ye should answer thus : Four kinds of fruit, brother, four advantages are to be expected. What are the four ? Firstly, the case of a brother who by the complete destruction of the three fetters¹ becomes a Stream-winner, saved from disaster hereafter, certain to attain Enlightenment. Secondly, the case of a brother who by the complete destruction of three fetters has so diminished passion and hate and illusion that he has become a Once-Returner, and returning but once to this world will make an end of Ill. Thirdly, the case of a brother who, by the complete destruction of the five last fetters, will be reborn in another world, thence never to return, there to pass away. Fourthly, the case of the brother who, by the destruction of the mental Intoxicants, has come to know and realize for himself, even

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 102, § 13 ; Vol. I, p. 200 f.

in this life, emancipation of intellect and emancipation of insight, and therein abides. These, brother, are the four kinds of fruit, the four advantages to be expected by those who are addicted and devoted to those four modes of pleasure.

26. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers [133] teaching other views than ours may declare: The Sākryan recluses are inconsistent in the doctrines they hold. To them thus declaring, this might be replied:—Brother, the Exalted One who knows, who sees, Arahant, supremely enlightened, hath taught and made known to his disciples doctrines not to be transgressed so long as life shall last. Just as a pillar of stone or iron, with base deep planted, well fixed, unshaking, unquivering, even so are those doctrines. The brother who is arahant, in whom the intoxicants are destroyed, who has lived the life, who has done his task, who has laid low his burden, who has attained salvation, who has utterly destroyed the fetter of rebirth, who is emancipated by the true gnosis, he is incapable of perpetrating nine things:—

1. He¹ is incapable of deliberately depriving a living creature of life.

2. He is incapable of taking what is not given so that it constitutes theft.

3. He is incapable of sexual impurity.

4. He is incapable of deliberately telling lies.

5. He is incapable of laying up treasure for indulgence in worldly pleasure as he used to do in the life of the house.

6. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through partiality.

7. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through hate.

8. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through stupidity.

9. He is incapable of taking a wrong course through fear.

¹ Cf. below Sangiti, p. 225 (x); Anguttara IV, 370.

These nine things the arahant in whom the mental intoxicants are destroyed, who has lived the life, whose task is done, whose burden is laid low, who has attained salvation, who has utterly destroyed the fetter of becoming, who is emancipated by the true gnosis is incapable of perpetrating.

[184] 27. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers who hold other views than ours may declare: Concerning the past Gotama the Recluse reveals an infinite knowledge and insight, but not so concerning the future, as to the what and the why of it. [If they were to say so], then those Wanderers would fancy, like so many silly fools, that knowledge and insight concerning one kind of thing are to be revealed by knowledge and insight engaged upon another kind of thing. Concerning the past, Cunda, the Tathāgata has cognition reminiscent of existences. He can remember as far back as he desires. And concerning the future there arises in him knowledge born of Enlightenment¹ to this effect: This is the last birth; now is there no more coming to be.

28. If, O Cunda, the past mean what is not true, what is not fact, what does not redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgata reveals nothing.² If the past mean what is true, what is fact, but what does not redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgata reveals nothing. If the past mean what is true, what is fact, and what does redound to your good, concerning that the Tathāgatā knows well the time when to reveal it. [And the same is to be understood as regards the future and the present.]

[185] And so, O Cunda, concerning things past, future and present the Tathāgata is a prophet³ of the hour, a prophet of fact, a prophet of good,

¹ Buddhaghosa explains this as *bodhimūle jātaṇ*: evolved, or born, at the root of the Bo-tree.

² Or, does not answer (*na vyākaroṭi*).

³ Literally, declarer, or speaker of (*-vādi*).

a prophet of the Norm, a prophet of the Discipline. For this is he called Tathāgata.¹

29. Whatever, O Cunda, in this world with its devas and Māras and Brahmās, is by the folk thereof, gods or men, recluses or brahmins, seen, heard, felt,² discerned, accomplished, striven for, or devised in mind,—all is understood by the Tathāgata. For this is he called Tathāgata :

And all that in the interval between the night, O Cunda, wherein the Tathāgata was enlightened in the supreme enlightenment, and the night wherein he passed away without any condition of rebirth remaining,—all that, in that interval, he speaks in discourse or conversation or exposition :—all that is so, and not otherwise. For that is he called Tathāgata.

As the Tathāgata says, O Cunda, so he does ; as he does, so he says. Inasmuch as he goeth even according to his word, and his word is according to his going, for that is he called Tathāgata.

As to the world, O Cunda, with its Māras and its Brahmās, of all its folk, divine or human, recluses or brahmins, the Tathāgata hath surpassed them, hath not by them been surpassed, surveys them with sure vision, disposer of things. For that is he called Tathāgata.

30. It may happen, Cunda, that Wanderers teaching other doctrines than ours may say : How is it, brother, does a Tathāgata exist after death ?³ Is that true, and is any other view absurd ? They so asking are thus to be answered : Brother, this hath not been revealed

¹ Tathā-ga-do, putting *d* for *t*, says Buddhaghosa.

² Here, as in Pāṇḍa Sūdanī on Majjhima I, 1, Buddhaghosa calls *mutaṇṇa*, *mutvā*, an equivalent term for the other three senses. And he refers *vinñātaṇṇa* : discerned, to ideas pleasant and unpleasant. See Buddh. Psychological Ethics, 239, n. 1 ; and cf. Saṃyutta I, 186 : *diṭṭhasute paṭighe ca mute ca* (cf. Kindred Sayings I, 237, n. 1).

³ The four alternatives are enumerated among Eel-wiggler speculations, Vol. I, p. 39 f. In this connexion, says Buddhaghosa, Tathāgata means a person (being, *satto*), presumably any arābant, not the Buddha only.

[136] by the Exalted One. Or they may say : Does a Tathāgata not exist after death? . . . or does a Tathāgata neither exist nor not exist after death, . . . or does he both exist and not exist after death? Is this true, is any other view absurd? They are then to be answered in the same words.

31. But it may happen, Cunda, that they may ask : But why, brother, is this not revealed by Gotama the Recluse? They are thus to be answered : Because, brother, it is not conducive to good, nor to true doctrine, nor to the fundamentals of religion, nor to unworldliness, nor to passionlessness, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to insight, nor to enlightenment, nor to Nibbāna. Therefore is it not revealed by the Exalted One.

32. It may happen, Cunda, that they may ask : But what, brother, is revealed by Gotama the Recluse? They are thus to be addressed :—This is Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Cause of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Cessation of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One. This is the Path leading to the Cessation of Ill :—that, brother, is revealed by the Exalted One.

[137] 33. It may happen, Cunda, that those Wanderers may ask : But why, brother is just that revealed by the Exalted One? They so asking are to be thus addressed :—Because that, brother, is fraught with Good, that belongs to the Norm, that is fundamental to religion, and conduces to absolute unworldliness, to passionlessness, to cessation [of ill], to peace, to insight, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. Therefore is it revealed by the Exalted One.

34. Those comments on views concerning the beginning of things, Cunda, which have been revealed by me to you even as they should be revealed :—as they should not be revealed shall I thus reveal them unto you?¹ And those comments on views concerning

¹ Read, for *n o*, *v o*, as in the following similar phrase.

the end or the beginnings of things, which have been revealed by me to you even as they should be revealed :— as they should not be revealed shall I thus reveal them unto you?

There are, Cunda, some recluses and brahmins who believe and profess one or another of the following views ; saying : This alone is true, any other opinion is absurd :—

The soul and the world are eternal. . . .

The soul and the world are not eternal. . . .

The soul and the world are neither. . . .

The soul and the world are both. . . .

The soul and the world are self-made. . . .

The soul and the world are made by another. . . .

The soul and the world are both self-made and made by another. . . .

[138] The soul and the world are neither, having come into being fortuitously.¹

Or they believe and profess one or other of these same views concerning pleasure and pain.²

35. Now, Cunda, to those recluses and brahmins, who believe and profess any one of these views I go and say thus : Is this so, friend ? And if they reply : ' Yes ! This alone is true, any other view is absurd ' I do not admit their claim. Why is this ? Because persons hold different opinions on such questions. Nor do I consider this [or that] view on a level with my own,³ let alone higher. 'Tis I who am higher, that is with regard to exposition.⁴

36. And thus I say regarding each of these opinions aforesaid. [139] Concerning all these comments concerning the beginning of things, I have revealed to you what should be revealed ; shall I then reveal to you what should not be revealed ?

37. And what, Cunda, are the comments concerning

¹ Cf. above, I, 186-188.

² Cf. *Samyutta* ii., 19 f.

³ *Attano sama-samaṇ*. That is, says the Comy., on level of knowledge (*ñāṇena*).

⁴ *Adhipaññatti*.

the things after this life, both which should be revealed and which should not be revealed?

There are, Cunda, certain recluses and brahmins who believe and profess one or other of the following views and say regarding it: That alone is true, any other view is absurd:—

The soul becomes after death of visible shape free from infirmity. . . .

It becomes invisible. . . .

It becomes both visible and invisible. . . .

It becomes neither visible nor invisible. . . .

[140] It becomes conscious. . . .

It becomes unconscious. . . .

It becomes both. . . .

It becomes neither. . . .

The soul is abolished, destroyed; does not come to be after death.

38. Now, Cunda, to those recluses and brahmins, who believe and profess any one of these views, I go and say, as before:—Is this even as you say, friend? And if they reply: 'This alone is true, any other view is absurd,' I do not admit that. And why is this? Because persons hold different views on such questions. Nor do I consider this or that view on a level with mine own, let alone higher. 'Tis I who am higher, that is with regard to exposition.

39. And thus I say regarding all those opinions aforesaid. Concerning all these comments concerning the things after this life, I have revealed to you [141] what should be revealed; shall I then reveal to you what should not be revealed?

40. For the expungeing of all these comments on opinions concerning the beginning and the hereafter of things, and for getting beyond them, Cunda, I have taught and laid down¹ the Four Onsets of Mindfulness:—what are the Four?² Herein, let a brother, as to the body, continue so to look upon the body that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, that he may

overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And so too let him continue to look upon feeling, thought and ideas. These have I taught and laid down for the expungeing of and the getting beyond all those comments on opinions.

41. Now at that time the venerable Upavāna was standing behind the Exalted One fanning him.¹ Thereupon he said to the Exalted One : Wonderfully, lord, and marvellously delectable is this exposition of the Norm ; exceeding great is the charm thereof. How, lord, is this exposition named ?

Well then, Upavāna, bear it in mind as the Delectable Discourse.

Thus spake the Exalted One. And pleased and delighted was the venerable Upavāna at his words.

Here ends the Pāsādika Suttanta.

¹ Cf. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 140, for his poem and his ministry ; and p. 350 for another allusion to this incident.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LAKKHAṆA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta is a very interesting instance of the method, so often followed in the Dialogues, of pouring new wine into the old bottles.¹

The brahmins had inherited a very ancient speculation (or, if that expression be preferred), a religious belief, in a mystic man, to whose dismemberment the origin of the world, and of all that is in the world, had been due. Such a theory is not, however, exclusively Aryan. Relics of it, in its most savage ferocity, are found as far off as the South Seas, and lie hidden under the grotesque details of the myth of Osiris. It is strange indeed that any such relics should have survived. For this idea runs counter to all the numerous cosmogonies that arose out of the later polytheisms. In India we have the most ancient presentation of it in the well-known *Puruṣa-Sūkta*—a hymn now incorporated, it is true, in one of the latest portions of the *Rig Veda*, but preserving the memory of a trend of thought earlier, no doubt, than the cult of most of the Vedic gods. We owe a debt of gratitude to the brahmin compilers of this anthology that they should have thought it worth while to include a conception so foreign to the rest of the collection.

The dismemberment of the Man is here ascribed to the gods. It is they who slay him and cut him up, and sacrifice him. From the pieces are produced (we are not told how) various things that gods need—metres in which they may be praised; animals to be sacrificed to them; men to perform the sacrifices; the earth and sky, the moon and the sun. As the gods are made in the image of men, it is scarcely probable that this bizarre idea could have arisen except among people who believed that a human sacrifice would bring advantage to the tribe. Of course the victim of the gods, before there were any men, was no ordinary man. He was a mythic monster of a man with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, as suitable a victim for the gods as a captive enemy would be for men. So say the

¹ Compare on this method what has been said above, I, 206-208.

opening verses ; afterwards the Man is treated as if he were the usual shape. It is therefore quite possible that the beginning of the hymn is by one author and the rest by another.

Notwithstanding its own incongruities, and its direct contradiction of other stories of creation, this one survived. A hymn of the Atharva (X, 2) returns to the subject. The mythic Man loses in that hymn his thousand heads and eyes and feet, but the purpose of the hymn is to identify him quite clearly and completely with Brahmā, the new personification of the magic words of the sacrifice, the new name for a Spirit of the universe. Thus do new gods absorb the old.

There is another mythical Man in the pre-Buddhistic literature, who is also identified with Brahman. He creates all this out of himself. But he is not a sacrificial victim ; and the long account of how he does it does not identify him with the Man of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*.¹

There is yet a third Man to be considered—the man in the eye, and in the mirror, and in many other things—the subject of the well-known passage incorporated in two Upanishads, and therefore older than either.² This third Man is simply the animistic soul.

Which of these three is the one referred to in our *Sut-tanta* ? It is necessary before we attempt to answer this question to see what the Pali evidence says. It is unfortunately very little, but not without importance. In the first place there are several passages where brahmins of good standing are represented as claiming this theory of natal marks on the body of the superman as part of their stock of hereditary knowledge.³ It is true that when the whole list of such knowledge is given, this theory of marks is put at the end as if it were the least of all in importance. Nevertheless, if this statement be correct for the period of the rise of Buddhism, and for the localities mentioned, then it follows that the theory is not a Buddhist one at all : it is brahmin. And the information is just what we should expect—certain brahmins, in their capacity as augurs and soothsayers, had worked out a theory of such marks, and handed it on to their pupils. It must be recollected that there was then, in the valley of the Ganges, no astrology ;

¹ See Rh. D.'s *Theory of Soul in the Upanishads*, J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 79.

² *Bṛihad. Ār. Up. I*, 4.

³ *Dīgha I*, 89, 114, 120 ; *Anguttara I*, 163 ; *Majjhima II*, 136 ; *Sutta Nipāta*, 690, 1000 ; *Milinda*, 10 ; *Divyāvadāna*, 620.

and that in one of the very oldest of their documents—in the *Sīlas*—the Buddhists had expressly condemned all sorts of augury and soothsaying practised for gain by some *samaṇas* and by brahmins.¹ This particular form of soothsaying is there mentioned.

Secondly the Buddhists had a theory of the superman, the *Mahā-purisa*. It is only mentioned incidentally in a few passages; but it was there. Thus at *Saṅgyutta V*, 158 when *Sāriputta* asks the Buddha what the saying, 'the superman' means, he is answered as follows:

It is by emancipation of mind that I call a man superman. Without that emancipation there is no superman. And how is one thus emancipated? With regard to his body, his feelings, his mind and his ideas he continues to be so master of them by insight that, ardent, self-possessed and mindful, he overcomes both the dejection and the hankering common in the world. So doing his mind is purified, emancipated, free from mental intoxications.

Again at *Anguttara II*, 35 a brahmin, known by his epithet of *Vassakāra*, the Rain-maker, calls on the Buddha. He is most probably the same rain-maker as the one who afterwards became notorious as the spy and traitor who brought about the destruction and slaughter of the *Licchavis*. He says that they (the priests) call a man endowed with four qualities a very wise man, a superman (a *Mahā-purisa*). Those qualities are (1) That he is learned. (2) That he is a good expositor of the meaning of what he has learnt by heart. (3) That he has a good memory. (4) That he is expert and untiring in everything a layman has to do, and can search out expedients for doing and carrying through anything that has to be done.

The answer, put into the mouth of the Buddha by the early Buddhists, amounts to this:—

Very well. It is not for me to express approval or disapproval. That you know best. I also call a man of four qualities very wise, a superman. And what are those qualities? (1) He concerns himself with the advantage and the welfare of the great masses of the people, many are the folk he has established in the *Āriyan* system—that is in the beauty of righteousness as set forth in the *Āriyan Path*. (2) He can think about a thing, or not, just as he wishes; he can harbour an aspiration, or not, just as he wishes. Thus is he master of his mind in the trends of thought. (3) He can enter at his pleasure without toil or trouble into the four ecstasies that are beyond thought and yet pertain

¹ See above, I, 15-19.

to this present life.¹ (4) He has put away the intoxications arising from lust and becoming from speculation and ignorance. Thus does he gain and abide in that sane emancipation of heart and mind that he knows and realizes even in this present life.

The story goes on to say that the Buddha himself (let us add, like any other Arahant) has done all this; and then it winds up in an impassioned verse which sums up the lesson of the talk.

Again there is a verse included in the Dhammapada anthology—it is No. 352—which in different phraseology asserts the same conclusion, that is, that the Arahant is the superman. Unfortunately this particular verse is one of those the origin of which has not yet been traced; and the new edition of the text puts the very word in question (*Mahāpurisa*, the superman) in brackets, as if it were an interpolation. This is not correct. The commentary has the word, and the reading is confirmed by *Anguttara* II, 37.²

These are the only passages in the 16 vols. of the four *Nikāyas* in which the word has so far been traced. This is sufficient to show that the word is not in use as a technical term in the Buddhist doctrine. It occurs only when the brahmin use of the word is referred to (*Sāriputta* was a brahmin), and is there used to show the startling contrast between the brahmin and the Buddhist conceptions of what a superman must be.

So with these marks. Our *Suttanta* says that—granted, for the purposes of this argument, that these are supermen recognizable by bodily marks that may be discerned at birth—then the superiority of these children is due entirely to good deeds done in a former birth, and can only be maintained, in the present life, by righteousness. The superman, by the theory, becomes either king or leader of a religious movement. In either case it is righteousness that produces and keeps alive the gain. The marks must have the same origin, and the results would be the same without them.

It follows that the marks are incidental; they don't really matter. And as a matter of fact we never hear of them again, as a serious proposition, in all the immense literature of Buddhism throughout the centuries of its development in India, and China, in Ceylon, or in Japan. The idea survived in the brahmin schools. Eleven centuries later *Varāha Mihira* still has a list of such marks. Why did the Buddhists

¹ See above, III, 108.

² The metre can be corrected by omitting *vuccatitī*.

never take to it? Can it be possible that this Suttanta was not without influence in keeping alive among the Buddhists their sane dislike to all the animist arts of soothsaying?

It would seem that the more learned and influential brahmins shared this feeling. They have preserved very little of the details of such arts. And on these particular marks they have nothing to say. Most of the marks are so absurd, considered as marks of any human, that they are probably mythological in origin, and three or four seem to be solar. Our Suttanta seems gravely ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities they are supposed, in the Suttanta, to mean. And Buddhaghosa makes pathetically futile efforts to bring some sense into them. It is quite evident that his traditional forerunners have understood them as little as he does himself.

XXX. LAKKHAṆA SUTTANTA.

THE MARKS OF THE SUPERMAN.

[142] THUS have I heard:—

1. 1. The Exalted One was once staying near Sāvattthī, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park, the Jeta-Vana. And there the Exalted One addressed the Brethren, saying Bhikkhus! Yea, lord! they responded. And he said:—There are thirty-two special marks of the Superman,¹ brethren, and for the Superman possessing them two careers lie open, and none other.¹ If he live the life of the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, Ruler of the four quarters, Conqueror, Guardian of the people's good, Owner of the Seven Treasures. His do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Housefather treasure, the Adviser treasure making the seventh. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, is established not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.

2. And what, brethren, are the Thirty-two Marks of the Superman, wherewith endowed [143] two careers lie open to him and none other:—that of a Monarch, Turner of the Wheel . . . that of Buddha Supreme?

(1) He hath feet with level tread. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of the Superman.

(2) Moreover beneath, on the soles of his feet, wheels appear thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every

¹ On the following formula cf. the Buddha-legend in The Sublime Story Suttanta, Vol. II, 13 f., and explanatory foot-notes; also above, p. 60; below, p. 165.

way complete and well divided. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of the Superman.

- (3) He has projecting heels. That this is so, *etc.*
- (4) He is long in the fingers and toes. . . .
- (5) Soft and tender in hands and feet. . . .
- (6) With hands and feet like a net. . . .
- (7) His ankles are like rounded shells. . . .
- (8) His legs are like an antelope's. . . .
- (9) Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand. . . .
- (10) His male organs are concealed in a sheath. . . .
- (11) His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold. . . .
- (12) His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body. . . .
- [144] (13) The down on it grows in single hairs one to each pore. . . .
- (14) The down on his body turns upward, every hair of it, blue black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right. . . .
- (15) He has a frame divinely straight. . . .
- (16) He has the seven convex surfaces. . . .
- (17) The front half of his body is like a lion's. . . .
- (18) There is no furrow between his shoulders. . . .
- (19) His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree: the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is equal to his height. . . .
- (20) His bust is equally rounded. . . .
- (21) His taste is supremely acute. . . .
- (22) His jaws are as a lion's. . . .
- (23) He has forty teeth. . . .
- (24) Regular teeth. . . .
- (25) Continuous teeth. . . .
- (26) The eyeteeth are very lustrous. . . .
- (27) His tongue is long. . . .
- (28) He has a divine voice like the karavīka bird's. . . .
- (29) His eyes are intensely blue. . . .
- (30) He has eyelashes like a cow's. . . .

(31) Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole white and like soft cotton down. . . .

[145] (32) His head is like a royal turban. . . .

3. These, brethren, are the Thirty-two Marks of the Superman, wherewith endowed he has two careers that lie open to him and none other : that of the Lord of the Wheel and that of Buddha Supreme. . . . And seers not of our communion, brethren, are acquainted with these Marks, but they know not for what deeds done any one of the Marks is acquired.

4. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, took on mighty enterprise in all good things, took on unfaltering enterprise in seemly course of deed and word and thought :—in dispensing gifts, in virtuous undertakings, in keeping of festivals, in filial duties to mother and to father, in pious duties to recluse and brahmin, in honour to the head of the house and in other such things of lofty merit [146]—by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, he when the body perished was after death reborn in a bright and blessed world. There was he endowed with a larger measure than other devas in ten matters, to wit in celestial years, beauty, happiness, glory, dominion, sights, sounds, odours, tastes and touches. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it,¹ he acquires this Mark of the Superman, to wit : feet with level tread, evenly placing his foot upon earth, evenly drawing it up, evenly touching earth with the entire surface of the foot.

5. He, endowed with this mark, if he dwell in the House, becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . Conquering not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness, he doth preside over this earth to its ocean-bounds, an earth void of barrenness, pitfalls² or jungle, mighty, prosperous, secure and fortunate

¹ Itthattāṇ.

² Animittāṇ; according to Buddhaghosa, the signs of brigandage, in the sense of causes of disaster, are absent.

and without blemish. As Monarch, what doth he get? He is not liable to obstruction from any human foe with hostile intent. As Monarch this doth he get. If he leave the House for the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil of the world. As Buddha what doth he get? He is not liable to obstruction from any foe or adversary within or without, out of lust or hate or illusion, whether recluse or brahmin or deva or Māra [147] or Brahmā or anyone in all the world. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

6. Concerning it this was said :—

*With heart intent on speaking truth,
On righteous ways and self-restraint,
Curbing of sense and conduct pure,
On virtue's hearth and holy feast,
On open hand and gentle life,
Harming no creature, shunning force :—
So fared he ever and a day,
And high resolve upon him took.
He by that karma passed to heaven¹
To share in bliss and ravishment ;
Thence when he fell, reborn as man,
Lo ! 'twas with even-treading feet
He came and touched the lap of earth.
Interpreters together met
Declared : No obstacle can rise
For him who treads with level foot.
Dwell he among the laity,
Or leave the world as Wanderer,
This doth that sign betoken clear.
If of the House a dweller he,
Unhindered shall he hold his way,
By foemen ; he shall overcome
All others, he shall rout the foe.*

¹ Divam; v.l. tidivam: the next world, the world of devas, or that region of it called Tusita (blissful). Cf. below, § 15, Nandana.

*No human power can bid him stay,
So works in him his Karma's fruit.*

*Or if, so treading, he doth fare
Forth from the world as Wanderer,¹
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
Chief among men, and peerless he
Never i' faith comes back to birth.
This is for him the natural law.²*

7. Whereas in whatsoever former births, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, [148] lived for the weal of the great multitudes, dispeller of dread and of panic, purveyor of just protection and wardenship and giver of supplies, he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires this mark of the Superman, to wit: beneath on the soles of his feet wheels appear, thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every way complete and well divided.

8. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He hath a great retinue; many are they that surround him:—brahmin householders, townsmen and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatories in chief³ and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. If he leave the House for the Homeless State, he

¹ Lit if he enter the state of going forth (p'abbajjam upeti)—i.e., leaving a worldly career for religion. On the term Wanderer see Rh. D., Buddhist India, 141 ff.

² Cf. Vol. II, p. 8, n. 3: esa hi tassa dhammatā. This is his nature (ayaṇ sa bhāvo), the Cy. here adds.

³ Bhogiyā. See above, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 1, and below, § 17. Cf. M. III, 133; J. VI, 344.

becomes . . . Buddha Supreme. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He hath a great retinue; many are they that surround him: bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

9. Concerning it this was said:—

*In bygone years, in earlier births,
As man, to many bringing weal,
Dispelling dread and quaking fear,
Zealous to ward, to shield, to fend,
[149] He by that Karma passed to heaven
To share in bliss and ravishment.
Thence when he fell, reborn as man,
Wheels upon his two feet are found,
With tyre complete and thousand spokes.
Interpreters together met
Declared when they beheld the boy
With marks of merit, hundredfold:
Ever surrounded will he be
By liegemen, foe-subduer he;
For lo! the wheels with tyres complete.
If, bearing these, he fare not forth
As Wanderer, he turns the Wheel
And rules the earth, where princes all
And nobles yield him fealty,
Attending him, the mighty one.
And if, so marked, he forth do fare
Leaving the world as Wanderer
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
Devas and men and demons all,
Asuras, Sakkas, Rakkhasas,
Nāgas, Gandhabbas, Garudas,
Fourfooted beasts, all on him wait:—
Peerless, by devas and by men
Revered, so great and glorious he.*

10. Whereas in former birth, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata,

then being human, putting away the taking of life, refrained therefrom and laying the scourge and sword aside, dwelt gentle and compassionate, merciful and friendly to all living creatures, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished re-born after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires these three marks of the Superman [150], to wit : he has projecting heels, has long fingers and toes, and as to his limbs is divinely straight.

11. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch, what doth he get? Longlived is he, long doth he last, for many years doth he preserve his life; no enemy whatever born of man is able in that interval to take his life away. As Monarch this doth he get. If he . . . become Buddha Supreme, . . . as Buddha what doth he get? Longlived is he, long doth he last, for many years doth he preserve his life; no enemy whatever, no foe, be he recluse or brahmin, or deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the whole world is able in that interval to take his life. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

12. Concerning it this was said :—

*Death's dreadful havoc well he felt
And fellow creatures shunned to slay.
Through such good ways to heaven he came,
Of things well done enjoyed the fruit.
Deceased, and hither come once more,
As man these Marks are on him seen :—
Full long of heel is he reborn,
And like Brahmā divinely straight,
Lovely to see, fair shaped of limb.
Of shapely arms and tender skin,
Goodly to see, proportioned well,¹
Tender and soft his finger's touch.*

¹ On *sujāta*, cf. Dhammapāla's comment in the Sela Sutta, Psalms of the Brethren, p. 311, n. 3.

- [151] *By those three marks of man supreme
 They tell the boy long-lived will be.
 If a layman he grow to be,
 Long years his life will be maintained,
 And longer yet if from the world
 He goeth forth as Wanderer,
 Lord over self, life he maintains
 To practise saintly gifts and power.¹
 Wherefore 'tis said those three marks be
 The token of longevity.*

13. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of becoming, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata then being human, became a giver of choice, well-flavoured, tasty, dainty foods, both hard and soft, and drinks, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires this Mark of the Superman, to wit : he has the seven convexes. Seven are these : on both hands, on both feet, on both shoulders and on the trunk.

14. Endowed with this mark, if he dwell in the House he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get ? Choice well-flavoured food, tasty dainty drinks. As Monarch, this doth he get. If he . . . become Buddha . . . being Buddha what doth he get ? Choice well-flavoured food, tasty dainty drinks. As Buddha this doth he get.

[152] This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

15. Concerning it this was said :—

*Giver was he of divers foods,
 And essences peerless in taste.
 Through seemly act, in Nandana,²
 Celestial grove, he revelled long.*

¹ Iddhimā vasippatto hutvā. Comy. Cf. the same pair of terms in Milinda, p. 82.

² Cf. Kindred Sayings, 1, 9, n 1.

*On earth arrived, the sevenfold swell
 He bore, on softly rounded limbs.
 And skilled diviners then declared,
 Fine food and drink would be his lot.
 Nor for the layman's life alone
 Was clearly there the token shown,
 Even if he as Wanderer
 The world forsook, they said, that he,
 Cleaving all layman's bonds, e'en then
 Foremost in gifts of food would be.*

16. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became popular to the people by the four bases of popularity,¹ to wit, by giving, by kindly speech, by sagacious conduct and by impartiality, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and by the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two [158] marks of the Superman, to wit, soft and tender hands and feet, and the hands and feet (reticulated) like a net.

17. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He hath well affected attendants, well affected to him are brahmin house-fathers, townsfolk and countryfolk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. If he become . . . Buddha, . . . as Buddha what doth he get? Well affected are his attendants, well affected to him are bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

¹ These are also stated below, p. 183, XXXIII, XL; in *Anguttara* II, 32, 248; cf. *Jāt.* V, 330; *J.P.T.S.*, 1909, 31.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

18. Concerning it this was said :—

*By fourfold act and exercise :—
By liberal hand, by conduct wise,
By kindly speech, by just intent—
Winning the hearts of many folk,
Holding such parts in honour high,
He went to bright and blessed worlds.
Deceased again and hither come,
Exceeding soft his hands and feet,
And bearing net-like meshes fine ;
And passing loveliness is his,
Pleasant to see :—such gifts he hath,
This wondrous youth while yet a babe.*

[154] *Disposer of the obedient crowd¹
Around him, lo ! on earth he dwells
Of kindly speech, and ever fain
For others' weal and happiness :—
Thus doth he practise virtues fair,
And if all wealth of worldly joys
He doth renounce, then Conqueror
Of self to common folk he talks
Of righteousness. And when they hear
With joyful hearts, responsive to
His word, they follow righteousness—
The greater duties and the less.*

19. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became one who spoke to the multitude on their good, on righteousness, explaining to the multitude, became a bearer of welfare and happiness to living creatures, a celebrant of righteousness, he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two marks of the

¹ We should probably read *parijan' assa vovidheyyo*.

Superman, to wit, ankles like rounded shells and down on the body turning upward.

20. Endowed with these marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He becomes Chief, Best, Foremost, Supreme, Paramount among those who have worldly possessions. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He becomes Chief, Best, Foremost, Supreme, Paramount over all beings. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

21. Concerning it this was said :—

- [155] *Of yore he lifted up his voice,
Speaking anent the Good, the Right,
Declared it to the multitude,
And to all living things became
Bearer of weal and happiness,
And offered up unstintingly
The sacrifice of Right, of Truth.¹
Through seemly act to heaven he fared,
And in the bright world found delight.
On earth reborn, upon him showed
Two marks of highest happiness :—
Upright the down upon him stood ;
Goodly to see his ankles were
Built up beneath the flesh, and skin
Above right shapely, beautiful.
If with these signs house-life he lead,
The height of this world's wealth he wins ;
Greater than he nowhere is found ;
Of Jambudīpa lord he rules.*
- [156] *If he sublimely leave the world,
The greatest of all creatures he,
Greater than he is nowhere found.
The whole wide world itself is his ;
He lives the Conqueror over all.*

¹ The sacrifice of the gift of Dhamma, says the Comy.; cf. Anguttara, I, 91; Mahāvāṇsa, ch. xxxii, 42, and above: 'celebrant.'

22. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became a zealous learner in craft, trade or science, in conduct or action, saying : What can I quickly learn, quickly understand, quickly acquire, nor long suffer toil? he, by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this mark of the Superman, to wit : legs like an antelope's.

23. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? Whatsoever things are worthy of a Monarch, the appanage, the treasures, the belongings of a Monarch, these doth he quickly acquire. As Monarch this doth he get. As Buddha what doth he get? Whatsoever things are worthy of a recluse, the appanage, the treasures, the belongings of a recluse, these doth he quickly acquire. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

24. Concerning it this was said :

*In arts and crafts, in life, in deed,
How he may learn to know with ease :—
This was his wish [157]; where none was harmed,
Swiftly he learnt, nor laboured long.
That karma wrought, with happy fruit,
Shapely and fair the limbs he gets,
And sweetly set in spiral curl
On delicate skin the down goes up.
Antelope-legged is such a man,
'Tis said, and further : 't is the sign
Of swiftly won prosperity.
As by each several downy tip,
Swiftly he comes by heart's desire,
If from the world he go not forth.
But if, so marked, he forth do fare
Leaving the world as Wanderer,
With vision clear and wholly fain*

*Worldly ambitions to forswear,
All that his fit belongings are,
That doth he find accordingly.
And quick, when on his course sublime.*

25. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata then being human, drew nigh and questioned recluse or brahmin, saying: What, sir, is good? What is bad? What is right, what wrong? What ought I to do, or not to do? What when I have done it will long be for my unhappiness . . . or for my happiness? he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, [158] his skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body.

26. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch, what doth he get? Great wisdom will be his, nor is anyone therein equal to him, nor superior to him amongst those who have worldly wealth. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? Great wisdom will be his, and wisdom in many fields, and the wisdom of a glad heart, and the wisdom of swift thought, and the wisdom of discrimination and the wisdom of revulsion.¹ Nor is

¹ This curious formula, used also by Ānanda of Sāriputta (Kindred Sayings, I, 87), by the Buddha himself of Sāriputta (M. III, 25) and of any believer (S., V, 376 f.; cf. A., I, 45), is explained word for word at some length by Buddhaghosa. Great wisdom is grasp of central doctrines. In the next, knowledge proceeds continually respecting many and diverse doctrines. The next seems to be knowing the joy both of insight and achievement in ethical and religious exercises. In the antepenultimate term, *javana* is both swiftly going, and intellect in action. It is here applied to grasping the three signs of all living aggregates (*khandha*). The penultimate refers to detection and extirpation of evil; the last to horror of evil. The contrast between this notable list and the alacrity and in-

anyone equal to him or superior in wisdom among all beings. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

27. Concerning it this was said :—

*In days gone by, in former births,
All fain to know, a questioner,
He waited oft on saintly men,
Eager to listen and to learn.
And with a heart intent on good,¹
Heeded discourse anent the good.
By deeds thus done in wisdom's quest,
Fine skin is his, as man reborn.
Diviners of the signs at birth
Declared : 'tis he will know and see
Full subtle meanings and mystery.
If one so marked leave not the world,
The Wheel he'll turn and rule the earth.
And in such meanings as are taught
And among them that grasp them none
Will equal, none will him excel.
[159] But if so marked he forth do fare,
Leaving the world as Wanderer,
With vision clear and wholly fain
Worldly ambitions to forswear,
He may attain the height supreme
Of wisdom, yea, Enlightenment
'Tis his to win, with powers of mind
So boundless and so excellent.*

28. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, lived without wrath, full of serenity,² and even when much had been said, fell not foul of anyone, was neither angry, nor malign,

significance of the *mark* of popular superstition is characteristic of this whole Suttanta.

¹ Attha is here, by Buddhaghosa, opposed to *dosa*, resentment or evil, with which so many set out to question others. But the double sense of good and meaning cannot be reproduced.

² Absence of despair or exasperation. Comy.

nor enraged, manifesting neither anger nor hate nor melancholy, but was a giver of fine and soft coverlets, and cloaks, and fine linen, fine cotton, fine silken, fine woollen stuffs, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquires this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his complexion is like bronze, and his skin like gold.

29. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? Receiver is he of fine and soft coverlets and cloaks and fine linen, fine cotton, fine silken, fine woollen stuffs. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? Receiver is he of those same things. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

30. Concerning it this was said :—

[160] *Good will he practised and he gave
Raiment and coverings fleecy, fine.
Thus he dispensed in former life,
As god pours rain upon the earth.
So doing fared he hence to heaven,
Reborn to fruit of deeds well done.
Those pleasures o'er, here takes he shape
With body as 'twere wrought of gold.
Than gods more fine, like Indra's self.
Dwells he at home, a man not fain¹
To leave the world as Wanderer,
The mighty earth he governeth,
And for past effort he obtains
Choicest of robes and coverings
Abundant, delicate, textured fine.
Raiment and drapery superfine
Doth he receive no less, should he
Go forth into the homeless life.
Victor he wins the past-earned fruit,
What's done can never come to nought.*

¹ Read *apabbajam iccham*.

31. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, reunited long-lost with long-bereaved¹ relatives, friends and comrades, reunited mother with child and child with mother, father [161] with child and child with father, brother with brother, brother with sister and sister with brother, making them as one, causing them to rejoice, he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma, . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his male organs were concealed in a sheath.

32. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? Abundant children will be his, more than a thousand sons, heroes, victors vigorous of frame, crushers of the host of the enemy. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha, what doth he get? Abundant children will be his, for thousands of children will he have, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter that was spoken of by the Exalted One.

33. Concerning it this was said :—

*In bygone days, in former births
Lost ones to those who long had sought,
Kinsfolk and friends to friends he brought,
Made them at one and made them glad.
By such deeds he to heaven fared
To share in bliss and ravishment.
Thence falling, born once more on earth,
His organs in a sheath were veiled.
[162] Abundant offspring such will have,
More than a thousand sons are his,
Heroes and champions, quelling foes,*

¹ The Comy. conceives him as a ruler, organizing rescue-work of this kind within and without the city.

*Greeting with words of filial love,
They are the layman's joy and pride.
But if he fare as Wanderer,
Yet greater will his offspring be,
Children obedient to his word.
So be he layman or Wanderer
This mark such benefit portends.*

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER II.

2. 1. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, was sincerely desirous of contemplating the good will of the folk, knew what each man was like,¹ himself recognized each, and knew his reputation and how he differed from others, and thus distinguishing, he judged 'This one deserves that, and this one again deserves that,'—he, by the doing and by the accumulation of that karma . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree; and standing without bending, he can touch and rub his knees with both hands.

2. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what [168] doth he get? Rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth, full is the treasure-house of much gold and silver, of many goods, of coin and corn. As Monarch, this doth he get. . . . As Buddha, what doth he get? Rich is he, of great fortune, of great wealth. And this is his plenteous currency:—faith, morality, modesty, discretion, learning, renunciation, wisdom. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

3. Concerning it this was said :

*Seeking alway the folk's good will
Once did he wisely men appraise,
Weighed them in judgment, criticised,
Each by himself: He's worthy that,
Detecting where each one excelled.*

¹ Read (with Buddhaghosa) samaṇ jānāti for saṇjañāti.

*Hence can he now unbending stand,
 And touch the knees with both his hands.
 And as a tree for girth and height,
 The fruit of other well-wrought deeds.
 Experts in divers signs and marks,
 Versed in such lore did thus declare :
 Things fit for laymen of all kinds
 As quite a little boy he gets.*

[164] *Much worldly wealth for this world's lord
 And fit for laymen shall be his:
 And if all wealth of worldly joys
 He shall renounce, then doth he win
 Of riches highest utmost crown.*

4. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, grew desirous for the good of the many, for their welfare, their comfort, their safety, considering how they might increase in confidence, in morality, in education, in charity, in righteousness, and in wisdom, might increase in money and corn, in land, in animals twofooted and fourfooted, in wife and children, in servants and slaves, in kinsfolk and friends and connections, he by the doing, and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these three Marks of the Superman, to wit, the front half of his body is like a lion's ; there is no furrow between his shoulders ; his bust is equally rounded.

5. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch, what doth he get? [165] He is incapable of failure and loss, he suffers no loss in money or corn, in fields or fallow, in two or four-footed beasts, in wife or children, in servants or slaves, in kinsfolk, friends or connections, he forfeits nothing wherein he succeeds. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He is incapable of failure

or loss, he suffers no loss in faith, in morals, in learning, in renunciation, in wisdom ; he does not fail of success in anything. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

6. Concerning it this is said :—

*In faith, in morals, teaching, wisdom, right,
And charity and other goodly things ;
In coin and corn, fallow and field, in wife
And children and fourfooted things ; kinsfolk
And friends, connections, strength and comeliness
And happiness :—how shall my neighbour lose
Nowise in these ? this was his wish, and thus
Their profit to achieve, his strong desire.
Handsome with lion-fronted body born,
No furrow in his back, and rounded front,
By karma wrought in bygone days, well stored,
Lo ! for him now the birth-sign this shall be¹
Of fortune blest, immunity from loss.
As layman he shall thrive in corn and coin,
In family, and in fourfooted beasts ;
As Wanderer possessing naught, he wins
Enlightenment supreme and unsurpassed,
That perfect sphere where failure entereth not.*

[166] 7. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, acquired the habit of harming no creatures,² either by hand or clod or scourge or sword, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, was reborn in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining this world as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his taste is supremely acute ; of anything on the tip [of the tongue] sensations of taste are produced in the throat and are diffused everywhere.

¹ Pubbanimittam assa taṇ . . .

² Referred to in Milinda 319.

8. Endowed with that Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? He experiences little of illness or suffering, he is possessed of good digestion, of an equable temperature, neither too hot nor too cold. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He experiences little of illness or suffering, he is possessed of good digestion, of an equable temperature, neither too hot nor too cold, equable, of patience in exertion. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

9. Concerning it this was said :—

*No living thing he harmed, by hand, by scourge,
By clod, by sword, by any murderous death,
By bonds or threats, no injury he wrought.
Therefore in blissful bourne he reaped the fruit
Of happiness, fount happy things for deeds.
Reborn on earth, he gets most delicate sense,
[167] Erect taste-bearers planted well [in throat.]
And so the seers expert declared of him :
This man shall plenteously happy be.
Live he as layman or as Wanderer,
This is the thing betokened by the mark.*

10. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, acquired the habit of looking not askance nor obliquely nor furtively, but with upright candid and lofty mind contemplating people with affectionate eyes, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof, when the body perished was reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his eyes are intensely blue and he has eyelashes like a cow.

11. Endowed with these marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? The people

love to see him ; he is popular among, and beloved by brahmin householders, town and country folk, [168] treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs¹ and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get ? The people love to see him ; he is popular among, and beloved by bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas and Gandhabbas. As Buddha, this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

12. Concerning it this was said :—

*With glance not furtive nor askance
Nor downward casting, but as one
Whose upright, candid lofty mind
Looked on the people lovingly,
Resulting fruit in blessed worlds
'Twas his t' experience and enjoy.
Here born again, his lashes long
As cow's, and eyes of deep dark blue,
Most fair to see, wise augurs said,—
Expert such signs t' interpret well,—
A babe with eyes so rare and fine
Betokens popularity.
Dear to the eyes of many folk,
As layman will he live beloved ;
[169] And if not lay, but Wanderer,
Loved as the healer of their griefs.*

13. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, became leader among men in goodness, foremost in virtuous deed and word and thought, in dispensing gifts, in conformity to morals, in attending religious festivals, in filial duties, in honouring recluses and brahmins, in deferring to the head of the family, and in other and sundry righteous observances, he by the doing and by

¹ Here and in following §§ bhogiyā is substituted for bhojakā. The Siamese ed. reads bhogikā.

the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, a head like a turban.

14. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. As Monarch what doth he get? The loyalty¹ of the multitude, of brahmin householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. As Buddha what doth he get? The loyalty of the multitude, of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, of lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

15. Concerning it this was said :—

*Foremost among good livers once
He lived, and all his love was given
To walk in ways of righteousness,
Loyal to help the multitude.
He reaped in heaven his due reward.
[170] Fruit of good life thus having plucked,
He came to earth with crested head.
And they who knew what signs should mean
Declared : This one will lead the folk.
As in the past so now all men
Will render services to him.
So they reported thus of him :—
If he be born of noble clan,
As lord of lands 't is his to win
The faithful service of the folk.
But if he leave the world, this man,
So versed and practised in good deeds,
Will draw the people after him,
For all their love will given be
To keep what he so well doth teach.*

¹ Anvāyiko. The expression recurs in Jāt. III, 348.

16. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away lying, felt revulsion at lies, became truth-speaker, bound to truth, trustworthy, consistent, breaking his word to no one, he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance thereof . . . was reborn in a bright and blessed world. Deceasing thence, and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, down growing in separate hairs, all over his body ; and between the eyebrows a hairy mole, white and like soft cotton-down.

17. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel . . . As Monarch what doth he get ? The people conform to his wishes, brahmin householders, town and [171] country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch, this doth he get. As Buddha, what doth he get ? The people conform to his wishes, bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha, this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

18. Concerning it this was said :—

*True was his promise in past births ;
Sincere his word,* he shunned the false ,
A breaker of his troth to none,
He pleased by truth, consistency.
White, lustrous, soft as cotton-down
A mole was seen betwixt his brows ;
And from each pore but one hair grew
About his skin :—so was he made.
When many versed in signs were met,
They saw the marks and thus declared :
With mole and hairs well-placed like these,
Him will the people all obey,*

*As layman they will look to him,
So far above by past wrought deeds.
As Buddha they will look to him,
Naught owning, Wanderer supreme.*

19. Whereas, in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away abusive speech, revolted against abusive speech, what he heard here not repeating elsewhere, to raise a quarrel against people here ; and what he heard elsewhere not repeating here, to raise a quarrel against people there :—thus becoming a binder together of those who are divided, [172] or fostering those who are friends, a peacemaker, lover of concord, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace,¹ he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, he had forty teeth, and they were in unbroken rows.

20. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get ? Those about him are not to be divided against themselves,² among brahmin householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. As Buddha what doth he get ? A following that may not be divided against itself, either of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren and lay-sisters, gods and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This is the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

21. Concerning it this was said :—

*No speaker he of slanderous words,
Provoking breach of friendship, growth*

¹ The passage occurs in Vol. I, 4 f.

² Abhejja. See Mil. 359.

- Of breach, and fostering strife,
 Embittering unseemly brawls,
 Parent of rupture 'twixt good friends.
 That which he uttered made for peace,
 Engendered binding what was broke,*
- [173] *With power to scatter people's brawls,
 In folk at one he found delight.
 Resulting fruit in blessed worlds
 'Twas his to experience and enjoy.
 Back on this earth, his teeth grew close,
 Two score, in even rank unbroke.
 If trained to arms he will become
 Lord of the soil, and those he rules
 Will be a gentle, peaceful folk.
 But if from lusts and blemish free,
 He shall become a Wanderer,
 Rangèd¹ and firm his band shall be.*

22. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away rough language, revolted from rough language, and became an habitual speaker of whatsoever words are blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people,² he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, his tongue is very long, and he has an exquisite voice like that of the karavika-bird.

23. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? A voice that commands attention ;³ all take his words to heart, brahmin house-

¹ Anugatā. The Comy. does not help in this unusual application of the word. The regularity of the teeth seems to call for some corresponding meaning.

² This is from the Silas, above, Vol. I, p. 5.

³ Buddhaghosa paraphrases ādeyya-vāco by gahetabba-vacanā, one having speech that is to be taken hold of, grasped. Cf. Vin. Texts III, 186, n. 3; Milinda I, 166, n. 2.

holders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? [174] A voice that commands attention; all take his voice to heart, bhikkhus, bhikkhunīs, lay-brethren, lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken by the Exalted One.

24. Concerning it this was said:—

*Not his to lift abusive voice,
Contentious, hurtful, harsh and rude,
Afflicting, crushing many folk;
Gentle his voice and sweet to hear,
Well-pitched and kind, lovely in sense
His words, appealing to the heart.
Thus to his listeners giving ease,
Fruit of good deed was his t' enjoy,
In heavens he tasted due reward.
Thereon again reborn on earth,
Gifted he grew with voice divine,
And bounteous was his length of tongue.
Weighty the words of him will be,
Crowned with success, if layman he.
But if this man do leave the world,
[175] People will take his words to heart,
And lay great store on all he saith.*

25. Whereas in whatsoever former birth . . . brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away idle talk, revolted from idle talk, and became one who spoke in due season, in accordance with the facts, words full of meaning, who spoke of religion and of discipline, words worthy to be laid up in the heart, fitly illustrated, clearly divided and to the point,¹ he by the doing and by the accumulating of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed

¹ This passage also is from the Silas in Vol. I, 5.

world. . . . Deceasing thence, and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired this Mark of the Superman, to wit, his jaws were as a lion's.

26. Endowed with this Mark, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel. . . . As Monarch what doth he get? He cannot be overthrown by any human foe or adversary whatever. As Monarch this doth he get. . . . As Buddha what doth he get? He cannot be overthrown by any foes or things inimical within or without, out of lust or hate or illusion, by recluse or brahmin, by deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

27. Concerning it this was said :—

*Not idle talk nor foolishness
Framed by confused thought was his.
Things mischievous he brushed away
For all men's good and weal he spoke,
[176] So doing, hence deceased, in heaven
He reaped the fruit of deeds well done.
Once more deceased, reborn on earth,
His was a jaw resembling that
Of chief of twice-twayfooted things.¹
He, as a monarch, sure will be
Lord over men impregnable,
A sovran over sons of men,
Of mighty power, like unto head
Of devas' city, Indra's self,
The leader of celestial hosts.
Heroes demonic or divine
Will find him hard to overthrow.
Such will he be, so will he prove
In layman's life, throughout the earth.²*

¹ This quaint phrase for a lion is only met with in this passage.

² Literally, as to the quarters, their opposites and intervening points. The Comy. passes over these lines, nor remarks on the absence of the Buddhological complement. This last omission is quite remarkable.

28. Whereas in whatsoever former birth, former state of being, former sojourning, brethren, the Tathāgata, then being human, put away wrong livelihood, maintained himself by right livelihood, revolted from cheating with scales, bronzes or measures, from deceiving by bribery, cheating and fraud, from maiming, murder, putting in bonds, highway-robbery, dacoity and violence¹; he by the doing [177] and by the accumulation of that karma, by the mass and the abundance of it, was when the body perished reborn after death in a bright and blessed world. . . . Deceasing thence and attaining this life as ye know it, he acquired these two Marks of the Superman, to wit, even and very lustrous teeth.

29. Endowed with these Marks, if he dwell in the House, he becomes Monarch, Turner of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, Conqueror, Guardian of the people's good, Owner of the Seven Treasures. His do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel-treasure, the Elephant-treasure, the Horse-treasure, the Gem-treasure, the Woman-treasure, the Steward-treasure, the Adviser-treasure² making the seventh. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, champions, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean-bounds, an earth void of barrenness, pitfalls or jungle, mighty, prosperous, secure, fortunate, without blemish, is established not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. As Monarch what doth he get? Pure in heart are his attendants, pure-hearted are his brahmin, householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. As Monarch this doth he get.

30. But if he go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless State, he becomes Arahant, a

¹ This passage is taken from the *Silas*, translated in Vol. I, 6.

² A sort of vizier. See note at II, 208.

Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.
As Buddha what doth he get? Pure in heart are his
attendants, pure-hearted are bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs,
lay-brethren and lay-sisters, devas and men, Asuras,
Nāgas, Gandhabbas. As Buddha this doth he get.

This was the matter spoken of by the Exalted One.

31. Concerning it this was said :—

*Wrong livelihood he laid aside :
And shaped a course just, pure and right.
[178] Things mischievous he brushed away ;
For all men's good and weal he worked.
Happy rewards he learnt in heaven,
Works had he wrought the skilled and wise
Praise ever highly ; hence his lot
To share in bliss and ravishment,
In devas' city like the chief.
Thence falling, gaining man's estate,
By fruit residual of good,¹
He thus wins evenness of teeth,
Fine lustre too and purity.
Then the assembled augurs said,
Chief among men in wisdom's lore :
Pure will the folk around him be
Whose teeth so even, bright and pure
And lustrous as bird's plumage shine.
To him, as prince and governor
Of the great earth, all men shall be
Pure-hearted, waiting upon him.
The people shall not be oppressed
By violence, for they shall seek
The general good and happiness.
But if as Wanderer he lives,
Then free from evil, lusts all quenched,
And rolling back the [murky] Veil,
And pain gone by and weariness,*

¹ The na at the beginning of this pada cannot be read as negating the following phrase. It is a corrupt reading, and the last word of the previous line caviya is probably part of the same corruption.

*He sees both this world and the next.
Laymen and Wanderers galore
Heeding his teaching, cast aside
Ways bad, impure, that he doth blame.
For pure are they who on him wait.
[From hearts of men] he casteth out
The stains that mar, the barren soil,
The vice that preys, the hapless fate.¹*

Here ends the Discourse on the Marks of
the Superman.

¹ Expansion of the compound mala-khila-kali-kilesa, the third and fourth factors being transposed.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SIGĀLOVADA SUTTANTA.

THIS Suttanta has been translated into English by Grimblot in *Sept Suttas Palis* (Paris, 1876), by Gogerly, J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, 1847, and by R. C. Childers in the *Contemporary Review*, London, 1876.¹ The latter entitled it *The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman*.

Childers doubtless sought to draw the eye of the general reader by a title borrowed from a well-known English classic. At this time of day we should look, under a claim so comprehensive, for some statement of political duties, for allusions to the senate and the forum, to affairs national and international. It is not enough to reply that these questions of wider ethics had not arisen. The *Saddhamma* was promulgated, it is true, in the kingdoms of autocrats like Pasenadi of Kosala, and Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha. But it was taught at the same time in the villages of the free clansmen of the Sākiyan, Koliyan, Licchavi and other republics. And among these the whole duty of the layman might well have included some corporate ideals of citizenship. There is certainly in one or two of the foregoing dialogues enough to show that Gotama could have uttered a discourse on such a theme. Either he judged that his listeners were not ready for it, or that the occasion did not call for it. Or it may be that his chroniclers, cut off from political interests, failed to preserve or edit such sayings. But possibly 'layman' is susceptible, at least in our day, of a wider implication than *gihī*, house-man. And hence 'whole duty' were better modified as 'whole domestic and social duty.'

Anyway, the Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is here set forth in a domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive detail than elsewhere. In a Canon compiled by members of a religious order and largely concerned with the mental experiences and ideals of recluses, and with their outlook on the world, it is of great interest to find in it a Sutta entirely devoted to the outlook

¹ Cf. the abstract in Rhys Davids's *Buddhism*, London, 1907.

and relations of the layman on and to his surroundings. And the discourse was felt to possess this interest in the long past by Buddhaghosa, or by the tradition he handed on, or by both. In this Sutta, he writes, 'nothing in the duties of housemen is left unmentioned. This Suttanta is called the Vinaya of the Houseman. Hence in one who practises what he has been taught in it, growth is to be looked for, and not decay.' And truly we may say even now of this Vinaya, or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and wide is the wisdom that envisages them, that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding to-day and here as they were then at Rājagaha. 'Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, where the people were full of the kindly spirit of fellow-feeling, the noble spirit of justice which breathes through these naive and simple sayings.'¹ Not less happy would be the village, or the family on the banks of the Thames to-day, of which this could be said.

The object of the young Sigāla's open-air matins will seem unfamiliar to the readers who are more accustomed to the names of Vedic deities surviving in the allusions scattered throughout these dialogues—to Brahmā and Prajāpati, Indra and Soma, Varuṇa and Isāna.² He was probably no brahmin. or we might have found him tending Agni's perpetual fire, or bathing his conscience clean in some stream of symbolical efficacy. The Commentary does not help us. The historical sense had not developed when the great commentators wrote, and they are incurious as to beliefs and rites that were possibly no longer alive at least in their own environment. It is a noteworthy instance of this that Buddhaghosa is silent regarding the deities just named, when he is commenting on the Tevijja-Suttanta, as well as on the string of tremendous attributes ascribed to Great Brahmā in the Kevaddha-Suttanta that comes before it. We may picture him as we would a mediæval Christian exegetist. In his milieu, Indian or Singhalese, a certain cosmology had long been traditional and orthodox. Outside it there were now other cults, pantheistic, polytheistic, atheistic. He doubtless held that discussion on the gods of these or older alien cults was as superfluous as discussion on Baal or Jupiter might have seemed to his Christian colleague. The only deva of whom, in the Kevaddha-Suttanta he has anything to say is Sakka (concerning whom the text is silent). And Sakka was just the quasi-human governor in the nearest, lowest heaven after earth.

¹ Rhys Davids (op. cit.), p. 148.

² Cf. I, 310.

For Buddhaghosa the heavens were filled, not with gods in our sense of the word, but, at least as to those mentioned in that Sutta, with devas who are one in kind with ourselves, and who will in due time become once more men and women on earth, such as they have already been times without number, unless they, in their upward way, have attained to the Never-returned stage of advancement.

But we, more curious than the Commentators, may find evidence in Brahmanic literature that the quarters or regions of the external world (*disā*), or mighty spirits inhabiting them were invoked for protection generally, and especially in battle, for luck and against snakes, etc. In the Atharva-veda (III, 26, 27) are two of such *rakṣamantras* (guarding runes) or *parittās*, as they are called by Buddhists (see the following Suttanta). Here we have the same six regions—viz., the four cardinal points, the fixed and the upward regions.

Ye gods that are in the Eastern quarter, missiles by name, of you there the arrows are fire! Do ye be gracious to us, do ye bless us! To you be there homage! To you there Hail! etc.¹

No. 27 identifies a god with each region, not the Four Kings of Buddhist cosmology² but Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viṣṇu, Brihaspati. To their jaws the invoker consigns his enemies. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ five, and also seven *disā*'s as well as four are mentioned in rites. In the Grihya Sūtras⁴ the four quarters are to be worshipped in connection with certain rites. And so much self-anointing or contact with water is enjoined that the lay celebrant may well have had both hair and garments wet as Sigāla had.

Hence it may well be that there was nothing eccentric or even unusual in these orisons of the filially-minded 'householder's son,' as he is called. It is true that the Commentary speaks of his being asked, What are you doing? But the Master asks only, Why are you worshipping so the several quarters? If he was interrupted and shown a better channel for the sending forth of his votive gestures, this was because the hour had come when the Exalted One saw him. Saw him not then only, is the Comment, but at dawn already had the Teacher, surveying the world with the Buddha-vision, seen him so engaged and had decided that 'this day will I

¹ Whitney-Lanman translation, Harvard O. S. 7, p. 131 f.

² Cf. above II, 242, 259; next Suttanta.

³ S.B.E. XII, 382; XLIII, 277, 314.

⁴ S.B.E. XXIX, 320, cf. 232; XXX, 171, 194, 213, 278. These Sūtras contain the rules of Vedic domestic ceremonies. Grihya means houseness.

discourse to Sigāla on the layman's Vinaya. That discourse will be of benefit to many folk. There must I go.' And so he passed by him going to Rājagaha for alms. And when Sigāla saw him standing near, 'the Exalted One, like a great lotus expanding at the touch of the rays of the sun, opened his mouth and spoke.'

The conversion from the invoking of animistically conceived nature-forces to that loving service to fellow-beings which is the truest worship of Deity, was the more easily effected because Sigāla's own convictions were not involved. The Commentary expands his own words by relating that his parents were pious upāsakas (lay followers), but could not persuade their son to accompany them to hear the good Doctrine. Nay, he would say, 'I'll have naught to do with Samaṇas. Doing homage to them would make my back ache, my knees stiff. I should have to sit on the ground and soil and wear out my clothes. And when at the conversations with them, after so sitting, one gets to know them, one has to invite them and make them presents, and so one only loses by it.' Finally the father on his deathbed bethought him of a pious ruse. If he, an upāsaka's son, were daily to practise disā-worship, the Master or his disciples would be sure to see him and teach him better things. And since deathbed wishes are to be remembered, the son remembered and obeyed.

The standpoint taken in this charming code of domestic and other relations, and the reciprocal duty resulting therefrom, calls here for just one remark. It will be noticed that in summing up the latter, the parable of the six-quarter-worship is maintained throughout. As good and loving gods take compassion upon (anukampanti) their sincere devotees, who wait upon them with offerings material and spiritual, so in all the six relations adduced the seniors are represented functioning as little gods, the juniors or subordinates as devotees. The one exception may be in the case of friends equal in age and other respects. The word expressing the duty towards the six seniors: *paccupaṭṭhātābbā* (the passive gerund) is rare,¹ but its meaning is clearly that of attendance in tending. Etymologically it is to be re-as-sisted. *Anukampanti* is the type-word for the protecting tenderness of the stronger for the weaker, and means vibrating along-after. It thus in emotional force is even stronger than our com-compassion or sym-path-y. And because the pulsing emotion is other-regarding, a feeling-together what-

¹ Cf. above II, 84 f. rendered 'persevere in kindness towards.'

ever the loved one feels, it is justifiable to render it often by love, thus taking the smaller concept up into the greater. Gotama frequently claims to feel this godlike emotion :—

Hitānukampī Sambuddho yad-aññaṃ anusāsati

*Love and compassion doth th' Enlightened feel
Towards another when he teacheth him.¹*

In the attitude of parent to child love is at bottom a tender compassion, a vibrant care to protect. So wife-love is largely motherly. Parent, wife, friend, master, teacher and *religieux* all rank, in Gotama's social Vinaya, and for that matter in that of India generally, as little gods, so great is the responsibility attaching to these six positions, so fine is the opportunity for exercising compassion, tender care, protection. In the six reciprocal aspects there is an element of childhood. The child under loving compassionate protection feels safe and confident as does the believing worshipper. And ideally, such childlike security and confidence is the attitude of student to teacher, husband to wife, friend to friend, servant to master.

C. A. F. R. D.

¹ Kindred Sayings I, 139; cf. 264.

XXXI. SIGĀLOVĀDA SUTTANTA.

THE SIGĀLA HOMILY.

[180] Thus have I heard:—1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha in the Bamboo Wood at the Squirrels' Feedingground.

Now at this time young Sigāla,¹ a householder's son, rising betimes, went forth from Rājagaha, and with wet hair and wet garments and clasped hands uplifted, paid worship to the several quarters of earth and sky:—to the east, south, west, and north, to the nadir and the zenith.

2. And the Exalted One early that morning dressed himself, took bowl and robe and entered Rājagaha seeking alms. Now he saw young Sigāla worshipping and spoke to him thus:—

Why, young householder, do you, rising betimes and leaving Rājagaha, with wet hair and raiment, [181] worship the several quarters of earth and sky?

Sir, my father, when he was a-dying, said to me: Dear son, you should worship the quarters of earth and sky. So I, sir, honouring my father's word, reverencing, revering, holding it sacred, rise betimes and, leaving Rājagaha, worship on this wise.

But in the religion of an Ariyan, young householder, the six quarters should not be worshipped thus.

How then, sir, in the religion of an Ariyan, should the six quarters be worshipped?

It would be an excellent thing, sir, if the Exalted One would so teach me the doctrine according to which, in the religion of an Ariyan, the six quarters should be worshipped.

¹ The MSS. call him Singālo, Sigālo (both variants of the Pali for jackal) and Singālako, which has merely the affix of agency, of the adjective (cf. Greek -κος, Latin -cus) or of the diminutive. The Singhalese MSS. mostly read Sigāla.

Hear then, young householder, give ear to my words and I will speak.

So be it, sir, responded young Sigāla. And the Exalted One said :—

3. Inasmuch, young householder, as the Ariyan disciple has put away the four vices in conduct, inasmuch as he does no evil actions from the four motives,¹ inasmuch as he does not pursue the six channels for dissipating wealth, he thus, avoiding these fourteen evil things, is a coverer² of the six quarters ; he has practised so as to conquer both worlds ; he tastes success³ both in this world and in the next. At the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn to a happy destiny in heaven. What are the four vices of conduct that he has put away ? The destruction of life, the taking what is not given, licentiousness, and lying speech. These are the four vices of conduct that he has put away.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 4. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

[182] *Slaughter of life, theft, lying, adultery :—
To these no word of praise the wise award.*

5. By which four motives does he do no evil deed ? Evil deeds are done from motives of partiality, enmity, stupidity and fear. But inasmuch as the Ariyan disciple is not led away by these motives, he through them does no evil deed.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 6. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

*Whoso from partiality or hate
Or fear or dulness doth transgress the Norm,
All minished good name and fame become
As in the ebbing month the waning moon.*

¹ Thānāni. ² I.e., includes, embraces. ³ Āraddho.

*Who ne'er from partiality or hate
Or fear or dulness doth transgress the Norm,
Perfect and full good name and fame become,
As in the brighter half the waxing moon.*

7. And which are the six channels for dissipating wealth? The being addicted to intoxicating liquors,¹ frequenting the streets at unseemly hours, haunting fairs, the being infatuated by gambling, associating with evil companions, the habit of idleness.

8. There are, young householder, these six dangers through the being addicted to intoxicating liquors :— actual loss of wealth, increase of quarrels, susceptibility to disease, loss of good character, [183] indecent exposure, impaired intelligence.

9. Six, young householder, are the perils from frequenting the streets at unseemly hours :—he himself is without guard or protection and so also are wife and children ; so also is his property ; he moreover becomes suspected [as the doer] of [undiscovered] crimes,² and false rumours fix on him, and many are the troubles he goes out to meet.

10. Six, young householder, are the perils from the haunting of fairs :—[He is ever thinking] where is there dancing ? where is there singing ? where is there music ? where is recitation ? where are the cymbals ? where the tam-tams ?³

11. Six, young householder, are the perils for him who is infatuated with gambling : as winner he begets hatred ; when beaten he mourns his lost wealth ;⁴ his actual substance is wasted ; his word has no weight in a court of law ; he is despised by friends and officials ; he is not sought after by those who would give or take

¹ The Comy. distinguishes five kinds of surā, and says that meraya is āsava. So also the old Comy. at Vin. IV. 110.

² So the Comy. :—crimes committed by some thief or adulterer are fathered on him. See Iti-vuttaka, § 76.

³ Cf. on shows and these last two terms, symbolical of performances, acrobatic, etc. Dialogues I, 7 f.

⁴ Read vittaṃ. Cf. S. I. 123. Kindred Sayings, p. 153, n. 3

in marriage, for they would say that a man who is a gambler cannot afford to keep a wife.

12. Six, young householder, are the perils from associating with evil companions: any gambler, any libertine, any tippler, any cheat, any swindler, any man of violence is his friend and companion.

[184] 13. Six, young householder, are the perils of the habit of idleness:—he says, it is too cold, and does no work. He says, it is too hot, and does no work; he says, it is too early . . . too late, and does no work. He says, I am too hungry and does no work . . . too full, and does no work. And while all that he should do remains undone, new wealth he does not get, and such wealth as he has dwindles away.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 14. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again:—

*Some friends are bottle-comrades; some are they
Who [to your face] dear friend! dear friend! will say.
Who proves a comrade in your hour of need,
Him may ye rightly call a friend indeed.*

*Sleeping when sun has risen, adultery,
Entanglement in strife, and doing harm,
Friendship with wicked men, hardness of heart
These causes six to ruin bring a man.*

*Is he of evil men comrade and friend,
Doth he in evil ways order his life,
Both from this world and from the world to come
To woeful ruin such a man doth fall.*

*Dicing and women, drink, the dance and song,
Sleeping by day, prowling around at night,¹
Friendship with wicked men, hardness of heart:—
These causes six to ruin bring a man.*

*Playing with dice, drinking strong drink, he goes
To women dear as life to other men,
Following the baser, not th' enlightened minds,
He wanes as in the darker half the moon.*

¹ Lit. unseasonably.

*The tippler of strong drink, poor, destitute,
Athirst while drinking, haunter of the bar,
As stone in water so he sinks in debt ;
Swift will he make his folk without a name.*

- [185] *Onc who by habit in the day doth sleep,
Who looks upon the night as time to arise,¹
One who is ever wanton, filled with wine,
He is not fit to lead a household life.*

*Too cold ! too hot ! too late ! such is the cry.
And so past men who shake off work that waits
The opportunities for good pass by.
But he who reckons cold and heat as less
Than straws, doing his duties as a man,
He nowise falls away from happiness.²*

15. Four, O young householder, are they who should be reckoned as foes in the likeness of friends ; to wit, a rapacious person, the man of words not deeds, the flatterer, the fellow-waster.

16. Of these the first is on four grounds to be reckoned as [186] a foe in the likeness of a friend :— he is rapacious ; he gives little and asks much ; he does his duty out of fear ; he pursues his own interests.

17. On four grounds the man of words, not deeds, is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :— he makes friendly profession as regards the past ;³ he makes friendly profession as regards the future ; he tries to gain your favour by empty sayings ; when the opportunity for service has arisen he avows his disability.⁴

¹ B. paraphrases by rattij anuttāna-silena : by habit rises not at night.

² These last six lines are identical (with one or two slight variations) with verses ascribed in Psalms of the Brethren, No. 74, to Mātanga.

³ Such as a supply of rice was put by for you ; we sat watching the road, but you did not come, and now it is gone bad. In the next case a present of corn is spoken of in the future. Comy.

⁴ Such as, you want a cart, and his has a wheel off, or a broken axle. Comy.

18. On four grounds the flatterer is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :—he both consents to do wrong,¹ and dissents from doing right ;² he praises you to your face ; he speaks ill of you to others.

19. On four grounds the fellow-waster companion is to be reckoned as a foe in the likeness of a friend :—he is your companion when you indulge in strong drinks ; he is your companion when you frequent the streets at untimely hours ; he is your companion when you haunt shows and fairs ; he is your companion when you are infatuated with gambling.

Thus spake the Exalted One. And (20) when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

*The friend who's ever seeking what to take,
The friend whose words are other than his deeds,
The friend who flatters, pleasing you withal.
The boon companion down the errant ways :—
These four are foes. Thus having recognized,
Let the wise man avoid them from afar
As they were path of peril and of dread.³*

[187] 21. Four, O young householder, are the friends who should be reckoned as sound at heart * :—the helper ; the friend who is the same in happiness and adversity ; the friend of good counsel ; the friend who sympathizes.

22. On four grounds the friend who is a helper is to be reckoned as sound at heart :—he guards you when

¹ With respect to taking life, etc., to whatever you propose to do, he consents saying: Good, friend, let's do it. With respect to right acts, the same method applies. Comy.

² The MSS. are equally divided between consents and dissents (anujānāti, nānujānāti). Childers translates as from anujānāti.

³ These verses are quoted at Jātaka II, 390, where Dr. Rouse has a charming version.

* Subhaddā.

you are off your guard,¹ he guards your property when you are off your guard ; he is a refuge to you when you are afraid ; when you have tasks to perform he provides a double supply [of what you may need].²

23. On four grounds the friend who is the same in happiness and adversity is to be reckoned as sound of heart :—he tells you his secrets ; he keeps secret your secrets ; in your troubles he does not forsake you ; he lays down even his life for your sake.

24. On four grounds the friend who declares what you need to do is . . . sound of heart :—he restrains you from doing wrong ; he enjoins you to [do what is] right ; he informs you of what you had not heard before ; he reveals to you the way to heaven.

25. On four grounds the friend who sympathizes is to be reckoned as sound at heart :—he does not rejoice over your misfortunes ; he rejoices over your prosperity ; he restrains anyone who is speaking ill of you ; he commends anyone who is praising you.

Thus spake the Exalted One. 26. And when the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Master spake yet again :—

[188] *The friend who is a helpmate, and the friend
Of bright days and of dark, and he who shows
What 't is you need, and he who throbs for you
With sympathy³ :—these four the wise should know
As friends, and should devote himself to them
As mother to her own, her bosom's child.*

*Whoso is virtuous and intelligent,
Shines like a fire that blazes [on the hill].⁴*

¹ If he sees you fallen down anywhere in the village after drinking spirits, he sits down by you till you wake, lest your cloak should be stolen. Comy.

² If you go to him burdened with a commission involving outlay, he presses you to accept double what you will require to spend. Comy.

³ The literal sense of a nu-kamp-ako is one who vibrates because of. See p. 171 f.

⁴ On a hill in the night. Comy.

*To him amassing wealth, like roving bee
 Its honey gathering [and hurting naught],¹
 Riches mount up as ant-heap growing high.
 When the good layman wealth has so amassed
 Able is he to benefit his clan.
 In portions four let him divide that wealth.
 So binds he to himself life's friendly things.²*

*One portion let him spend and taste the fruit.³
 His business to conduct let him take two.
 And portion four let him reserve and hoard;
 So there'll be wherewithal in times of need.*

27. And how, O young householder, does the Ariyan disciple protect the six quarters? The following should be looked upon as the six quarters:—parents as the east,⁴ [189] teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and companions as the north, servants and work people as the nadir, religious teachers and brahmins as the zenith.

28. In five ways a child should minister to his parents as the eastern quarter:—Once supported by them I will now be their support; I will perform duties incumbent on them; I will keep up the lineage and tradition⁵ of my family; I will make myself worthy of my heritage.

¹ Thus Buddhaghosa prettily amplifies, taking the idea perhaps from Dhammapada, ver. 49.

² Mittāni. Cf. S. I, 214. The Comy. explains by mitte, friends.

³ Which portion is to serve for doing good? asks B. The first; with it he can both give gifts to *religieux* and the destitute, and can pay wages to weavers, bathmen, etc. [for personal services as distinct from trade dealings].

⁴ The symbolism is deliberately chosen: as the day in the East, so life begins with parents' care; teachers' fees and the South are the same word: *dakkhiṇa*; domestic cares follow when the youth becomes man, as the West holds the later daylight; North is 'beyond,' so by help of friends, etc., he gets beyond troubles.

⁵ *Kula-vayya* implies both. B. explains it as not dissipating property, restoring, if need be, the family honour and integrity, and maintaining gifts to *religieux*.

In five ways parents thus ministered to, as the eastern quarter, by their child, show their love¹ for him :—they restrain him from vice, they exhort him to virtue, they train him to a profession,² they contract a suitable marriage for him, and in due time³ they hand over his inheritance.

Thus is this eastern quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

29. In five ways should pupils minister to their teachers as the southern quarter : by rising (from their seat, in salutation) by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn, by personal service, and by attention when receiving their teaching.

And in five ways do teachers, thus ministered to as the southern quarter by their pupils, love their pupil :—they train him in that wherein he has been well trained ; they make him hold fast that which is well held ; they thoroughly instruct him in the lore of every art ; they speak well of him among his friends and companions. They provide for his safety in every quarter.

Thus is this southern quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

[190] 30. In five ways should a wife as western quarter be ministered to by her husband :—by

¹ *Anukampanti*, and so below. See p. 179, n. 1.

² To conveyancing, or as an accountant, etc., according to the family tradition. Comy.

³ Both on suitable occasions and at death.

⁴ Childers has obedience. This is quite wrong. Considering the enormous importance attached in the autocratic states and religious Orders of Europe to obedience, it is most worthy of notice that obedience does not occur in Buddhist ethics. It is not mentioned in any one of the 227 rules of the Buddhist Order. It does not occur in any one of the clauses of this summary of the ethics of the Buddhist layman, and it does not enter into any one of the divisions of the Eightfold Path nor of the thirty-seven constituent qualities of Arahantship. Hence no member of the Buddhist order takes any vow of obedience ; and the vows of a Buddhist layman ignore it. Has this been one of the reasons for the success of Buddhism ? It looked beyond obedience.

respect, by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, by providing her with adornment.

In these five ways does the wife, ministered to by her husband as the western quarter, love him:—her duties are well performed, by hospitality to the kin of both, by faithfulness, by watching over the goods he brings, and by skill and industry in discharging all her business.

Thus is this western quarter protected by him and made safe and secure.

31. In five ways should a clansman minister to his friends and familiars as the northern quarter:—by generosity, courtesy and benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself, and by being as good as his word.

In these five ways thus ministered to as the northern quarter, his friends and familiars love him:—they protect him when he is off his guard,¹ and on such occasions guard his property; they become a refuge in danger, they do not forsake him in his troubles, and they show consideration for his family.

Thus is the northern quarter by him protected and made safe and secure.

32. In five ways does an Ariyan master² [191] minister to his servants and employees as the nadir:—by assigning them work according to their strength; by supplying them with food and wages; by tending them in sickness; by sharing with them unusual delicacies; by granting leave at times.³

In these ways ministered to by their master, servants and employees love their master in five ways:—they rise before him, they lie down to rest after him; they are content with what is given to them; they do

¹ See above § 22.

² *Ayirakena* or *ayyirakena*. B. is silent as to this unusual term. Cf. *Jāt.* II, 349. On the metathesis cf. Ed. Müller, *Pali Gram.*, p. 49.

³ *I.e.*, constant relaxation so that they need not work all day, and special leave with extra food and adornment for festivals, etc. Comy.

their work well ; and they carry about his praise and good fame.

Thus is the nadir by him protected and made safe and secure.

33. In five ways should the clansman minister to recluses and brahmins as the zenith :—by affection in act and speech and mind ; by keeping open house to them, by supplying their temporal needs.

Thus ministered to as the zenith, recluses and brahmins show their love for the clansman in six ways :—they restrain him from evil, they exhort him to good, they love him with kindly thoughts ; they teach him what he had not heard, they correct and purify what he has heard, they reveal to him the way to heaven.

Thus by him is the zenith protected and made safe and secure.

Thus spake the Exalted One. And when the Blessed One had so spoken, the Master said yet further :—

*Mother and father are the Eastern view,
And teachers are the quarters of the South.
[192] And wife and children are the Western view,
And friends and kin the quarter to the North ;
Servants and working folk the nadir are,
And overhead the brahmin and recluse.
These quarters should be worshipped by the man
Who fitly ranks as houseman in his clan.*

*He that is wise, expert in virtue's ways,
Gentle and in this worship eloquent,¹
Humble and docile, he may honour win.
Active in rising, foe to laziness,
Unshaken in adversities, his life
Flawless, sagacious, he may honour win.
If he have winning ways,² and maketh friends,*

¹ B. thus interprets paṭibhānavā in this connexion, viz., on the occasion of worshipping the quarters.

² I.e., the four bases of popularity, says B. These are liberality, affability, beneficence, impartiality (cf. Childers s.v., saṅgaha, above, p. 145).

*Makes welcome with kind words and generous heart,¹
And can he give sage counsels and advice,
And guide his fellows, he may honour win.*

*The giving ¹and, the kindly speech, the life
Of service, impartiality to one
As another, as the case demands :—
These be the things that make the world go round²
As linchpin serves the rolling of the car.
And if these things be not, no mother reaps
The honour and respect her child should pay,
Nor doth the father win them through the child.
And since the wise rightly appraise these things,*
[198] They win to eminence and earn men's praise.*

When the Exalted One had thus spoken, Sigāla the young householder said this :—Beautiful, lord, beautiful! As if one should set up again that which had been overthrown, or reveal that which had been hidden, or should disclose the road to one that was astray, or should carry a lamp into darkness, saying They that have eyes will see! Even so hath the Truth been manifested by the Exalted One in many ways. And I, even I, do go to him as my refuge, and to the Truth and to the Order. May the Exalted One receive me as his lay-disciple, as one who has taken his refuge in him from this day forth as long as life endures.

Here ends the Sigālovāda Suttanta.

¹ = A pada in S. I, 34. There and here, with different illustrations, B. explains vādaññu, makes welcome. . . .

² So B. : given these qualities the world goes round. Cf. the French adage : C'est l'amour, qui fait le monde à la ronde.

* Samavekkhanti.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ĀṬĀNĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

ON this Suttanta we have already commented incidentally in the preceding and the Mahā-Samaya Suttantas (II, 283). Here we wish very briefly to consider the position of these rakḥhan's, parittās or prayers for safety in the Buddhist cult. Parittā (pari-trā) means protection, from a root trā, to rescue. It is a different word from the parittaṇ (paritra, limited, little) on which we have commented elsewhere.¹ And it is more often used than its synonym rakḥhaṇ, the term used here. A list of parittās is given in the Questions of King Milinda (trs. I, 231), and the sanction of their use is there made one of the horns of a dilemma, thus:—'The Parittās were promulgated by the Blessed One, that is to say, the Ratana Sutta, the Khandha, Peacock, Banner-crest, Āṭānāṭiya and Angulimāla Parittās. Now if a man may not escape death, the Parittā is useless; if the Parittā saves him, it is not true that he cannot escape death.' All of these Parittās are translated into English. The Ratana is in the Khuddakapāṭha, translated by Childers,² and the Sutta-Nipāta³; the Peacock is the Jātaka verses so called⁴; the Banner-crest is in the Sakka-Saṃyutta⁵; and the Angulimāla may be read in the Theragāthā and the Majjhima-Nikāya.⁶ The Khandha parittā is in the Anguttara-Nikāya (II., 72) and in the Cullavagga of the Vinaya.⁷ In the last-named works it is said to be 'allowed' by the Buddha 'as a watch, a guard, a protection for one's self' for the use of the Order. The occasion for this general injunction was the death of a member through snake-bite. The formula consists of a profession of amity towards the four tribes of snakes, an entreaty against injury from beasts, a prayer for the welfare of all beings. The profession of amity, according to Buddhist doctrine, was no mere matter of pretty speech.

¹ Bud. Psych. Ethics, p. 265, n. 1; 269, n. 3.

² J.R.A.S., Nov., 1869.

³ II, 1; S.B.E. X, p. 37 f.

⁴ Mora-Jātaka II, No. 159.

⁵ Kindred Sayings I, 283.

⁶ Vol. II, 104 f.; Pss. of the Brethren (probably only), verses 874-6.

⁷ Vinaya Texts III, p. 76. The Anguttara Sutta is termed *Āṇāṇa*, 'lord of snakes.'

It was to accompany and express a psychic suffusion of the hostile man or beast or spirit with benign, fraternal emotion—with *mettā*. For strong was the conviction, from Sutta and Vinaya to Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi-Magga*,¹ that 'thoughts are things,' that psychical action, emotional or intellectual, is capable of working like a force among forces. Europe may yet come round further to this Indian attitude.

The belief in the effective power to heal, or protect, of the *saccakiriya*, or asseveration of something quite true, is but another aspect of the work ascribed to the *parittā*.²

It may well be that Buddhism was compelled to adopt and then adapt, in the *parittā*, the *rakshamantras* dear to its converts. There was wisdom shown by the teachers of the new successful Dhamma in making friends out of certain traditions and prejudices very hard to overcome. In moments of vital peril any conceivable means are clutched at that may avail to save. And it is chiefly as a cry for help in sickness that the *parittā*-rite or pirit survives yet in Ceylon. The simple ritual is described in Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monarchism*, p. 240, and in Gogerly's *Ceylon Buddhism*, edited by A. S. Bishop, p. 327 ff.

But on the other hand there is an aspect under which these guarding runes are not alien to Buddhist doctrine, but are as much in harmony with it as is prayer with a theistic religion. This is not altogether because the agencies whose power to harm is deprecated are not, as in other cults, cursed and anathematized, but are blessed with good wishes, and suffused with an outgoing love. Though, for that matter, we cannot but linger for a moment to render homage to this wonderful vista of faith, wherein even the most malignant spirits and beasts were looked upon, not as hopelessly and eternally damned, but as erring unfortunates upon their age-long upward way, and capable of being doctored and softened by the lovely power of love. What we mean here is that the Buddhist's idea of the moral order reigning in the universe—an order or law which he called Dhamma—justifies him in the practice of the *parittā*. The kernel of Buddhist doctrine is insight into the moral cosmic order—into the eternal truth of Ill and of its arising and passing, and of the Path whereby it may be overpassed. But this order is not a finished, rigid, alien measure which may be

¹ Chapter IX, p. 313. According to the *Sāsanālankāra* quoted in Gray's *Buddhaghosuppatti*, p. 15, Buddhaghosa was about to write a Commentary on the *Parittās*, when he was sent to a greater work in Ceylon.

² See our article on Truth (Buddhist) *Ency. Religion and Ethics*.

applied from without to life and conduct. It is not like an iron gallon jar which may be filled and emptied innumerable times with changing contents. It is more like an infinite web that living creatures themselves are ever weaving. The results of our actions are the web. The pattern that comes out as the web progresses is by us interpreted as moral law. It is a growing induction based on faith, namely, that good brings happiness, evil, unhappiness. And the actions with such pregnant results are acts not only of deed and speech, but also of feeling, thinking, and will. Each thread of the web is the result of some person's karma. Whether that karma be good or bad, the eternal shuttle weaves in the result. And at any given moment it requires, in making up the pattern, which is the fulfilling of the moral law, an act of mind, word, or deed from some being or beings. The Hebrew prophet in a fine inspiration conceived the Lord as 'waiting to be gracious.' So the Buddhist, his world teeming with the life and power of beings seen and unseen, all making their own karma, conceives the moral order as, so to speak, waiting for the action of this or that human or non-human being, contributing to the progress of its sempiternal fulfilment. Nāgasena, in the Milinda question, likens this, that we have called a 'waiting' for the human intercession in the Parittā, to the sick man's turning to the physician's remedies. Either means may avail if the patient's karma for this life be not exhausted. The fervent utterances of the Parittā, as synergy of thought sent forth by the utterers, are judged to be a possibly effective medicine no less than the muscular and material appliances of medical art. They are intended to range benign agencies on the side of the patient, and to keep far off those that may harm. Deities as conceived in other creeds were no longer invoked. Short of this, the parittās have yet much of the force of prayer. Balaam's aspiration: 'Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like his!' would be accounted as a prayer by both theist and Buddhist. Even Aaron's benediction of Israel: 'May the Lord bless thee and keep thee,' etc., is a votive uttering—a *vau*—an invocation on the lines of the parittās. In these the power and goodness of the wonderful Teacher and Saviour, the truth of the Dhamma, the help of all holy ones—these are made present to the mind and give strength. The heart of unbounded love converts foes to friends, or else to powerlessness, and so drives out fear. So that whether it is to be a prolonged span of safety here, or whether life elsewhere is once more imminent, great allies have been called to aid and are standing by, and all is well.

XXXII. THE ĀṬANĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

THE WARD RUNE OF ĀṬANĀṬA.

THUS have I heard :—

1. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagaha on Vulture's Peak.

Now the Four Kings,¹ having set a guard, a screen, a patrol over the four quarters with a great army of Yakkhas, of Gandhabbas, of Kumbhaṇḍas, went to Vulture's Peak when night was far spent, lighting up the whole mountain with their effulgent beauty.² And there they saluted the Exalted One and sat down at one side. And of the [attendant] fairies³ some saluted only and sat down at one side, some exchanged greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took their seats on one side : some saluted him with clasped hands, then sat down on one side ; some called out their name and family, then sat down on one side ; some sat down in silence.⁴

2. Then King Vessavana⁵ so seated spake thus to the Exalted One :

' Lord ! there are eminent fairies⁶ who do not believe in the Exalted One, and there are eminent fairies who do. There are also fairies of [195] middle and of inferior rank who do not believe in him, and there are

¹ On these see II, 242, 258, the 'genii' presiding over the four quarters of the firmament. 'Great king' is more literal than correct. Only a 'mahārāja' deserves to be rendered by king in our sense of the word.

² *I.e.*, of their luminous skin, says B., commenting here as on S. I, 1.

³ Yakkhā.

⁴ See the identical formula in II, 350.

⁵ King of the northern quarter ; 'intimate with the Buddha, expert in conversation, well-trained, and hence the spokesman.' Comy.

⁶ Fairy is yakkha. We have no legendary being whom the Pali word quite fits. See our note 1, Kindred Sayings I, p. 262. 'Genie' is fairly approximate. All these non-human creatures had bodies, hence 'spirits' is not very suitable.

fairies of middle and of inferior rank who do. But for the most part, lord, fairies do not believe in the Exalted One. Why is this?

'The Exalted One teaches a code of abstaining from the taking of life, from theft, in chastity, lying and intemperance. But for the most part, lord, fairies do not abstain from any one of these things. To them such a code is distasteful and disagreeable.

'Surely, lord, there are disciples of the Exalted One who haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is,¹ where breezes from the pastures blow, hidden from men, suitable for meditation. There do eminent fairies dwell, who have no faith in the word of the Exalted One. That they may find faith, may the Exalted One learn² the Āṭānāṭa³ ward-rune whereby both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease guarded, protected and unscathed?'

The Exalted One by his silence gave consent.

3. Then King Vessavana, noting the Exalted One's consent, recited in that hour this ward-rune of Āṭānāṭa :—

*All glory to Vipassi, splendid seer !
To Sikkhī of the tender heart for all !
To Vessabhū ascetic, wholly pure !
[196] To Kakusandha, mill of Māra's host !
To Koṇāgamana, perfected saint !
To Kassapa, in every way set free !
And to Angīrasa the splendid son
Of Sākiyas who hath taught the holy Norm
Defeating and dispelling every ill.⁴*

¹ Cf. Vol. II, 357; III, 35.

² The Buddha acquiesces as if he did not know this rakṣha-māntṛa (here called rakṣhaṇ). To safeguard the doctrine of his omniscience, the Commentary explains the king's word as intended to create an opportunity for others to learn, Gotama lending the undertaking the prestige of his authority.

³ The Commentary calls this a town. Cf. below, p. 193.

⁴ Each attribute, writes B., is equally applicable to each of the Buddhas . . . all were Angīrasas because of the emission of rays.

*They too who here from passions freed¹ have pierced
 E'en as it really is the truth of things,
 Such souls of gentle speech, mighty, serene,
 To GOTAMA give glory, Fount of Good²
 To devas and to men, in wisdom's lore
 And conduct versed, mighty, serene.*

4. *Whence cometh up the sun, Aditi's child,³
 Orbèd and vast, e'en as he cometh up
 Ceaseth the Shrouder:⁴ lo! the day, 't is said.
 There too and thus they know the sounding deep,
 The sea, the bourne of travelling waters, so
 They call it 'Sea.' And looking hence⁵ we say
 [197] *This quarter is the East: the 'First' to come.⁶
 Custodian of this quarter is a king,
 With brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
 Of the Gandhabbas, Dhatarattha named.
 Attended by Gandhabbas he enjoys
 Their songs and dances. Many are his sons
 Of one name and the same, so have I heard.
 Eighty and ten and one the tale of them,
 Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
 They too beholding Buddha, kin o' th' sun,
 Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar.
 'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
 Glory to thee, thou highest among men!⁷
 'Tis by thy goodness⁸ thou hast looked on us.**

¹ B. apparently interprets these (who are 'freed': nibbuta by the Nibbāna of the kilesas) as Arahants. But, he says, 'the Commentary' refers this and the next two lines to the Buddhas, and in the fourth line only understands 'the wise' to be meant.

² Hitaṇ, by the suffusion of love. Comy.

³ Aditīyā putto.

⁴ Saṇḍari, a name for night, elsewhere found only in a later work: the Jātaka Comy. IV, 441⁶; VI, 243¹³.

⁵ Namely, from Mt. Sineru, or from where they were seated. Comy.

⁶ Purimā = both 'east,' and 'first' or 'former.'

⁷ Cf. Pss. of the Brethren, ver. 629, 1084, 1179. The Pali formula is the same in each passage.

⁸ These lines are not part of the formula elsewhere. 'By,

*We, though we be not human, worship thee !'
Full often have we heard the question asked,
' The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA ?'
Therefore do we on this wise utterance make :
' The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
In wisdom's lore and conduct throughly versed ;
The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA !'*

5. *Where they whom men call Peta-folk reside,
Folk rough of speech, backbiters, murderers,
Brigands and crafty-minded, looking hence,
[198] They say, ' This is the quarter of the south.'
Custodian of this quarter is a king,
With brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
Of the Kumbhanda sprites, Virūlha named.
Attended by Kumbhandas he enjoys
Their songs and dances. Many are his sons,
Of one name and the same, so have I heard,
Eighty and ten and one the tale of them ;
Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
They too beholding Buddha, kin o' th' sun,
Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar.
' Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat !
Glory to thee, thou highest among men !
'Tis by thy goodness thou hast looked on us.
We, though we be not human, worship thee !'
Full often have we heard the question asked,
' The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA ?'
Therefore do we on this wise utterance make :
' The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
In wisdom's lore and conduct throughly versed ;
The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA !'*

6. *And where the sun goes down, Aditi's child,
Orb'd and vast, e'en as he goeth down
Ceaseth the day, and when he goeth down
The Shrouder cometh, men are wont to say.*

or with, goodness': kusalena, a curious, unusual phrase. B. give
'pure wisdom,' 'omniscience' as alternative meanings.

*There too and thus they know the sounding deep,
The sea, the bourne of travelling waters, so
They call it 'sea.' And looking hence we say
This quarter is the 'West,' the 'Last' to come.¹*

- [199] *Custodian of this quarter is a king,
Of brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
Of Nāgas, him Virūpakkha we name.
Attended by the Nāgas he enjoys
Their songs and dances. Many are his sons,
Of one name and the same, so have I heard,
Eighty and ten and one the tale of them ;
Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
They too beholding Buddha, kin o' th' sun,
Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar.
'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat !
Glory to thee, thou highest among men !
'Tis by thy goodness thou hast looked on us.
We, though we be not human, worship thee.'
Full often have we heard the question asked,
'The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA ?'
Therefore do we on this wise utterance make :
'The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
In wisdom's lore and conduct throughly versed ;
The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA !'*

7. *Where Northern Kuru lies delectable,
Where towers great Neru's² mountain beauteously,
There do men live calling no goods their own,
Nor as their chattels any womenkind.³
No seed they scatter, nor in furrows led
Are ploughshares. Of itself the ripened corn
Stands without toil of tilth for men to enjoy.
The rice purged of red powder and of husk,
[200] Sweet-scented, boiling on hot oven-stones :⁵*

¹ Pacchima is both 'West' and 'last.'

² Usually called Sineru.

³ So B. 'no woman property'; no 'mine-ness' which says 'this is my wife'; and no desire for possession.

⁴ Akattha-pāk imaṃ sālīṃ is apparently the right reading.

⁵ So B. explains tuṇḍikire.

Thus they [untoiling find and] eat their food.
 They make of kine a single-seated mount,¹
 And so they ride about the land; and eke
 Their flocks they use on this wise, women too
 And men, and maids and youths—these vehicles
 Mounting they ride about on every hand,
 Engaged upon the service of their king.
 And elephants they have to ride and horses too
 And cars celestial, and for the king
 And all his retinue state palanquins.
 Cities are theirs well built on airy base;
 Their names *Ātānātā*, *Kusinūtā*,
Parakusinātā and *Nāṭapuriya*,
 And *Parakusitanāta*, to the North [201]
Kapivanta and other cities too :—²
Janogha and *Navanavatiya*
 And *Ambara-Ambaravatiya*³
Ālakamandā too, the royal residence.
 But where *Kuvera*⁴ dwells, their gracious king,
Visānā is the citadel, and hence
 The name he goes by of *Vessavana*.
 And these are they who take his embassies
 And make them known :—*Tatolā*, *Tattalā*,
Tatotala, *Ojasi*, *Tejasi*,
Tatojasi and *Sūro* and *Rāja*
Ariṭṭha too and *Nemi*. There too spreads
 The mighty sheet of water, *Dharaṇī*,
 Whence rain-clouds [drawing waters]⁵ pour them forth
 Whence showers rain down. And there too stands the
 hall
 Named *Bhagalavati*, where congregate
 The *Yakkha* sprites. And round about are trees

¹ *Taṃ piṭṭhi abhiruyha* is B.'s only explanation of the curious term *ekakhuraṃ katvā*.

² *Aparena*, Comy. *aparabhāge*. Not 'on the west,' as in Grimblot.

³ The double name of one city; so Comy.

⁴ According to tradition, he was in a former birth a very charitable sugar-growing brahmin.

⁵ So Comy. reading for *yatto*, *yato*.

*Bearing perpetual fruit ; their foliage
 Swarming with divers birds and jubilant
 With cry of peacock and of heron and the song
 Melodious of the kokilā. There too
 You hear the jīva-bird who calls ' Live ye !
 Live ye ! ' and he who sings ' O lift your hearts ! ' ¹
 [202] And many another bird of wood and lake ²
 With noisy parrots and the gentler song
 Of myna-birds and harpies called by men
 Rod-mannikins. Aye in her beauty lies
 The livelong day Kuvera's lotus-lake.
 And looking hence our people designate
 That quarter of the firmament as North.
 Custodian of this quarter is a king
 Of brilliant retinue, the sovereign lord
 Of Yakkhas, by the name Kuvera known.
 Attended by the Yakkhas he enjoys
 Their songs and dances. Many are his sons,
 Of one name and the same, so have I heard.
 Eighty and ten and one the tale of them ;
 Inda their name and mighty is their strength.
 They too beholding Buddha kin o' the sun,
 Mighty, serene, acclaim him from afar :
 Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat !
 Glory to thee, thou highest among men !
 'Tis by thy goodness thou hast looked on us.
 We though we be not human worship thee.
 Full often have we heard the question asked :
 ' The conqueror do ye worship, GOTAMA ?'
 Therefore do we on this wise utterance make :
 ' The conqueror we do worship, GOTAMA,
 In wisdom's lore and conduct throughly versed,
 The Buddha do we worship, GOTAMA.'*

[203] 8. This, dear Sir, is the ward rune, whereby both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected

¹ So the Comy.

² Kukutthaka, kuliraka, and pokkharasātaka are specified.

and unscathed. When any brother or sister, layman or laywoman shall have well learnt this Ātānāṭa spell, and shall know it word-perfectly, if any non-human creature, whether it be a Yakkha of either sex, young or otherwise, chief or attendant, or servant, or a Gandhabba, or a Kumbhāṇḍa, or a Nāga, of either sex, young or otherwise, chief or attendant or servant, should approach him or her while walking, standing, sitting or lying down, with malevolent intent, such a creature, dear sir, would not win, either in village or township, hospitality or respect. Such a creature, dear sir, would obtain at my royal city of Ālakamandā neither site nor dwelling. He would not be received in any assembly of Yakkhas. And he would not be taken or given in marriage. And when his trial was over, the public of creatures non-human would heap contumely upon him, and they would bend down his head like an empty bowl, and split it in seven pieces.

9. There are creatures not human, dear sir, who are rough, irascible, violent. They heed neither the [four] kings, nor the officers of the kings, nor their men. [204] They are called rebels against the four kings. Even as brigand chiefs suppressed by the king of Magadha, so do they act. Now if any Yakkha whatever, or Gandhabba, Kumbhāṇḍa or Nāga should approach a brother or sister of the Order, or a lay-disciple, walking, standing, sitting or lying, with malevolent intent, then should [the molested one] incite and cry aloud and shout to those Yakkhas, the Great Yakkhas, their generals and commanders, saying: 'This Yakkha is seizing me, is assailing me, is hurting, injuring, harming me, and will not let me go!'

10. Which are the Yakkhas [to whom appeal should be made]?

*Inda,†¹ Soma† and Varuna,†
Bhāradvāja, Pajāpati,†
Candana,† Kāmasettṭha too,**

¹ See Appendix, giving references to works in the Piṭakas, where certain of these names are met with.

Kinnughandū and Nighandū**
Panāda, Opamañña too,
Devasūta and Mātali.†
Cittasena the Gandhabba,*
Nala, Rāja,* Janesabha,**
Sātāgira Hemavata,**
Punnaka, Karatiya, Gula.*
 [205] *Sīvaka,* Mucalinda too,*
Vessāmitta, Yugandhara,
Gopāla, Suppagedha too,
Hirī, Nettī and Mandiya,
*Pañcālacaṇḍa Ālavaka,**
Pajunna.† Sumana, Sumukha,
Dadhimukha, Mani,
Mānicara, Dīgha,
With these Serissaka.

These are the Yakkhas, the Greater Yakkhas, the commanders, the chief commanders, who should be invoked.

11. This, dear sir, is the ward rupe whereby both brethren and sisters of the Order, and laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected and unscathed.

‘Well, dear sir, now we take our leave; we have many duties, much to do.’

‘That, sires, is whenever you think fit.’

Then the Four Kings arose from their seat, and saluting the Exalted One passed round him by his right and there and then vanished. And the Yakkhas arose from their seat some following the procedure of the four kings, some exchanging with the Exalted One friendly and courteous [206] salutations, some stretching forth clasped hands, some announcing their name and family, some keeping silence. And so all there and then vanished.

12. And when the night had passed, the Exalted One addressed the brethren and told them all [§§ 1-11 inclusive here repeated.]

13. ‘Learn by heart, brethren, the Ātānāṭa ward

rune, master it and recollect it. This rune, brethren, pertains to your good and by it brethren and sisters of the Order, laymen and laywomen may dwell at ease, guarded, protected and unscathed.'

Thus spake the Exalted One. The brethren were pleased and delighted at his words.

Here ends the Ātānāṭiya Suttanta.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SANGĪTI SUTTANTA.

AN English translation of this Suttanta by the Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala was published at Calcutta in 1904 by the Mahābodhi Society.

It and the following Suttanta, in concluding the Dīgha Nikāya, form for that work a novel departure. Novel, not because they are compiled as catechisms—we have already met with an exposition so compiled in the Mahāsatipatṭhāna Suttanta, Vol. II, pp. 337-45, where there is a lengthy discourse, possibly an interpolation, by question and answer, on the so-called Four Aryan Truths, another in the Mahā Nidāna Suttanta (Vol. II, pp. 51-68), not to mention yet other dialogues which are in part catechetical. The novelty lies in this, that the materials are arranged on the plan observed at much greater length throughout the Fourth, or Anguttara Nikāya. This plan is not that of the first and second Nikāyas, which are professedly grouped according to length, nor that of the third Nikāya, where the grouping is more intelligently done, namely, according to subject. It is a grouping where the points or chief items brought forward are grouped numerically and in arithmetical progression. Recourse to it must have been on mnemonic grounds, grounds that would be of great importance in an unwritten mass of doctrine.

It is not equally obvious why the compilation of doctrinal items in this form should have been attributed to Sāriputta. In the Commentarial tradition of the procedure at the First Council, as told by Buddhaghosa,¹ in the Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, it is related that, whereas Ānanda was required to testify to the circumstances under which every Sutta in the Nikāyas was uttered, the other three Nikāyas were handed over to the disciples of (the late) Sāriputta, Mahā Kassapa (the president) and Anuruddha respectively. Thus it was the Majjhimā that fell to the school of Sāriputta, and not the Anguttara, as we should have expected, had Sāriputta, in his teaching, always preferred the numerical method. Nor is his teaching more amply represented in the Suttas of the Anguttara than in those of

¹ Sumangala Vilāsini I, 15.

the second and third Nikāyas. Sāriputta's gift of teaching was not one able to express itself in one channel only. His manifold powers as a teacher are eloquently testified to by more than one distinguished apostle, witness the eulogies of Ānanda, Vangīsa, Mahā Kassapa, Mahā Moggallāna his fellow 'chief-disciple,' and by the Master himself.¹ He is in one of these testimonials praised for his ability to summarize as well as to expand:—

*He teaches first in outline brief
And then expands in full detail.*

It was of prime importance in this unwritten gospel so to summarize that expansion was possible with the maximum of accuracy and the minimum of muddle and difficulty. And he on whom the duty would fall, should he survive his chief—which he did not—of faithfully maintaining and propagating the inherited doctrine, was naturally deeply concerned to get a correct catalogue of such summaries, while the leader was at hand to sanction them.

Some such reasoning may have led the compilers of these two last Suttantas to ascribe them to Sāriputta. All that we now know is that each of them forms a sort of thematic Index to the doctrines scattered through the Four Nikāyas, that they follow the Anguttara method of arrangement, but that they contain here and there matter which suggests that they took their present shape at a later date than the bulk of the rest of the Dīgha.

In the two features they have in common, of catechism as a monologue by the catechumen, and of the absence of narrative (nidāna or vatthu), this further interest attaches to these last Suttantas, that they become practically Abhidhamma rather than Sutta Piṭaka. In the oldest division of the body of doctrine called in the Piṭakas the nine Angas or parts, one is Veyyākaraṇaṃ, translatable as answering, or expounding. Under this Anga all the sort of catechetical dialogue was included that was called from the early days of the Order's history Abhidhamma-Kathā, translatable as 'advanced discourse on doctrine.'² Most of this Anga was at a later date systematized and expanded as the third or Abhidhamma Piṭaka. But some of it remained in the Nikāyas. In the Khuddaka or Fifth Nikāya there is a whole book of it:—the Patisambhidā-magga, or Analytic Course.

¹ Kindred Sayings I, 87 f.; Psalms of the Brethren, verses 1231-3, 1082-6, 1176 f.; Kindred Sayings I, 242.

² Majjhima I, 214.

Another pair of books, the Niddesas, though we class them as Commentaries, are practically Abhidhamma. And embedded in two of the other Nikāyas we have on the one hand Abhidhamma-talk in the two Vedalla-Suttas of the Majjhima (I, 299 f., though Buddhist tradition classes them under a Vedalla-anga), and on the other, these two lengthy Abhidhamma-lists in the Dīgha here presented.

The important Kashmirian Buddhist school of the Sabbatthivādins (Sanskrit: Sarvāstivādins), or 'Everything-exists-doctrinaires,' were so satisfied that the former of these two—the Sangīti Suttanta—was proper 'Advanced talk,' that they placed it, or their own version of it among the seven works which, according to Tibetan and Chinese translations, constituted their Abhidhamma books. It is variously classed as No. 2, 3 or 7, and in the Chinese recensions is still ascribed to Sāriputta. The Tibetan recensions father it on Mahā-kotṭhita, the Apostle who in the Majjhima is the speaker in the major Vedalla-Sutta. The episode that may possibly have stimulated Sāriputta or the compilers of the two Suttantas to lose no time in drawing up summarized doctrines—the death of the Jain leader and the subsequent disputes among that body—is repeated in the Sabbatthivādin recension. We are indebted for what we know of this recension to Professor J. Takakusu's admirable essay on 'The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma Books' in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1904-5. Space-limits prevented him from giving a full list of the summaries, but all he does give occur also in our Sangīti Suttanta. Some day a full comparison will be possible.

C.A.F.R.D.

XXXIII. SANGĪTI SUTTANTA.

THE RECITAL.

[207] THUS have I heard :—

1. 1. The Exalted One was once making a tour in the country of the Mallas,¹ accompanied by a great company of the brethren, numbering about five hundred. And he arrived at Pāvā the Malla capital. There he resided in the mango-grove of Cunda the smith.²

2. Now at that time a new mote-hall of the Pāvā Mallas named Ubbhaṭaka³ had not long been built, and had not been occupied by recluse or brahmin or any human being whatever. And the Pāvā Mallas heard that the Exalted One on his tour had arrived with his following at Pāvā and was staying in Cunda's mango-grove. And they went to visit him, and saluting him sat down at one side. So seated they said to him :—

'Lord, a new mote-hall named Ubbhaṭaka has lately been built by us Mallas of Pāvā, and no recluse or brahmin or any human being whatever has yet occupied it. [208] Let, lord, the Exalted One be the first to make use of it. That it has first been used by the Exalted One will be for the lasting good and happiness of the Pāvā Mallas.'

The Exalted One by his silence assented.

3. When they marked his assent, they rose and saluted him, passing round by his right, and went to the mote-hall. They spread the whole hall with carpets, arranged seats, put a bowl of water ready, hung up an oil lamp, and returned to the Exalted One. Saluting

¹ The Mallas were an oligarchy of rājas. They are called rājas in the Comy.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, 137.

³ 'Thrown-aloft-er.' 'So-called because of its height.' Comy.

him and standing at one side they said : ' The whole mote-hall, lord, is spread with carpets, seats are arranged, a bowl of water has been placed ready, a lamp is hung up. And now, lord, whenever the Exalted One deems the time is fit. . . . '

4. Then the Exalted One dressed himself and taking bowl and robe he went with the company of brethren to the mote-hall. On arriving he bathed his feet, and entered the hall, and took his seat facing the east, leaning against the central pillar. The brethren also bathed their feet and entered the hall ranging themselves against the western wall and facing the east [209], behind the Exalted One. The Pāvā Mallas also bathed their feet and entered the hall, ranging themselves against the eastern wall and facing the west with the Exalted One before them. Then the Exalted One far into the night discoursed on the doctrine to the Pāvā Mallas, instructing, enlightening, inciting and inspiring them.¹ And then he dismissed them saying : ' Lovely, Vāsetṭhas,² is the night. Do ye deem it time ? '

' We do, lord,' responded the Pāvā Mallas. And rising they saluted the Exalted One by the right and departed.

5. And presently the Exalted One, surveying the company of brethren wrapped in silence wherever they sat,³ called to the venerable Sāriputta : ' There is an absence, Sāriputta, of sloth and torpor in the company of brethren. Let a religious discourse occur to thee. My back is aching, I will stretch it.'

' So be it, lord,' replied Sāriputta. Then the Exalted One, letting his robe be folded in four, took up the lion-posture on his right side, placing his feet

¹ B.'s comments on these four verbs in the *Soṇadanda Suttanta* (I, 159) should be compared with those on the same passage in S. I, 114, given in *Kindred Sayings* I, 140, n. 4.

² Apparently a leading family name among the Mallas both of Pāvā and the neighbouring village, Kusinārā. See II, 181.

³ Literally, ' wrapped in silence, wrapped in silence.' ' Wherever he looked, there that part was silent.' Comy.

one in the curve of the other, mindful and deliberate,¹ having mentally noted a time for arousing himself.

6. Now at that time the Nigaṇṭha, Nātha's son, [210] had just died at Pāvā.² After his death the Nigaṇṭhas became divided, falling into opposite parties and into strife, disputes broke out and they went on wounding each other with wordy weapons :—Thou dost not confess this Norm and Discipline ! I do confess it ! Wilt *thou* confess it ? Thou art in the wrong ! I am practising it rightly ! I am speaking to the point ; thou art off the point ! Thou sayest last what should be said first, and first what should come last ! What thou hast so long excogitated is quite upset ! Thy challenge is taken up ; thou'rt proved to be wrong ! Begone to get rid of thy opinion, or disentangle thyself if thou canst ! Truly the Nigaṇṭhas, followers of Nāthaputta, were out methinks to kill. Even the lay disciples of the white robe, who followed Nāthaputta, showed themselves shocked,³ repelled and indignant at the Nigaṇṭhas, so badly was their doctrine and discipline set forth and imparted, so ineffectual was it for guidance, so little conducive to peace, imparted as it had been by one who was not supremely enlightened, and now wrecked as it was of his support and without a protector.

7. Then the venerable Sāriputta addressed the brethren :

The Nigaṇṭha, Nāthaputta, friends, has just died at Pāvā. Since his death the Nigaṇṭhas have become divided and have fallen into opposite parties and into strife. Disputes have broken out and they go on wounding each other with wordy weapons . . . so badly has their doctrine and discipline been set forth

¹ Recorded in the same terms of Gotama, e.g. II, 149; S. I, 107; but cf. Devadatta in Vinaya Texts III, 258.

² This episode forms the occasion for Suttanta XXIX, above, p. 111, and for the Samāgama Sutta, M. II, 243 f.

³ Only the Burmese Mandalay MS. and Rangoon edition and the Siamese edition here read also *virattarūpā*, 'repelled,' as on p. 111.

. . . and now wrecked of his support and without a protector.

[211] But to us, friends, the Norm has been well set forth and imparted by the Exalted One. It is effectual for guidance, conducive to self-mastery, and is imparted by one perfectly enlightened.¹ Herein there should be a chanting by all in concord, not a wrangling, that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained. That may be for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and of men.

[THE RECITAL.]

I.

8. What is the single doctrine?

All beings persist through causes. All beings persist through conditions.²

This 'single doctrine,' friends, has been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting in concord, not a wrangling, [212] that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained. That may be for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and of men.

II.

9. There are double doctrines, friends, which are perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting in concord

¹ Cf. above, p. 115 f.

² Cf. Khp. IV; A. V, 50, 55. The *Digha* alone gives the second aphorism. 'Cause': *āhāra*, usually meaning 'food,' is literally a thing 'adduced,' 'brought up.' Four kinds of *āhāra* are specified, e.g., S. II, 11 f.; below, 219—food, contact, purpose, consciousness (in connection with rebirth), all considered as so many causes, conditions, antecedents of 'result' or fruit. Hence *āhāra* in general can always be rendered by *paccaya*. So B. 'Condition'—*sankhāra*: the *karana* or doing, action, that leads to the result. Comy.

. . . for the good . . . of devas and of men :—Which are the doubles ?

- i¹. Mind^{1a} and body.
- ii. Ignorance and craving for rebirth.
- iii. False opinion as to (a) rebirth, (b) no rebirth.
- iv. Unconscientiousness and indiscretion.
- v. Conscientiousness and discretion.²
- vi. Contumacy and friendship with evil.³
- vii. Suavity and friendship with good.
- viii. Proficiency as to offences and restoration from them.
- ix. Proficiency as to attainments and recovery from them (viz. : as to Jhāna).
- x. Proficiency in elements⁴ and in understanding them.
- xi. Proficiency in the (twelve) spheres of sense and in the (twelve factors⁵ of the) causal formula.
- xii. Proficiency in assigning specific causes, and in eliminating elements that are not causal [in a specific effect].⁶

¹ With this list compare Anguttara I, 83 f., and below, XXXIV, 1, 3, etc.

^{1a} I.e. Nāma, by which in this connection the 'four incorporeal khandhas' (aggregates) are always meant. B. refers to the Visuddhi Magga for a detailed analysis (ch. xiv.).

² The former concerns one's own estimate of one's self, the latter the estimate of one's neighbours. Comy.

³ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 344.

⁴ The eighteen dhātus, those residual factors of our experience which cannot be expressed in more ultimate [subjective] terms (attano sabhāvaṃ dhāreti ti dhātu), to wit, the three ultimates in each act of consciousness, object, or stimulus, re-acting organ [of sense or mind], resulting cognition.

⁵ The only apparent reason for linking these two is the common number.

⁶ The first of the 'ten powers' of a Tathāgata (M. I, 69 f.; A. V, 33 f.; Vibh. 335 f. Cf. Psalms of the Early Brethren I, p. 167, n. 1; II, 7, n. 1; Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 348) shared partly by disciples (Points of Controversy, 139 f.). 'Proficiency' (kusalatā) is, by B., defined as 'intelligence-with-understanding' (paññā-pajānana), further specialized in x.^a as learning, remembering, grasping, intuition, in x.^b as the last two *plus* reflection, in xi.^a as learning by heart, *plus* the last group, in xi.^b, understanding of procedure, in xii. as determining.

- [213] xiii. Rectitude and shamefacedness.¹
 xiv. Patience and gentleness.
 xv. Mildness of speech and courtesy.²
 xvi. Kindness³ and love.⁴
 xvii. Absence of mind⁵ and want of intelligence.
 xviii. Mindfulness and intelligence.
 xix. Unguardedness of faculties⁶ and intemperance in diet.
 xx. Guardedness of faculties and temperance in diet.
 xxi. The powers of judging and of cultivation.
 xxii. The powers of mindfulness and concentration.
 xxiii. Calm and insight.⁷
 xxiv. The causes [or signs]⁸ of calm and of mental grasp.⁹
 xxv. Mental grasp and balance.
 xxvi. Attainment in conduct and in [sound] belief.
 xxvii. Failure in conduct and in [sound] belief.¹⁰
 [214] xxviii. Purity in conduct and in belief.¹¹
 xxix. Purity in belief and the struggle according to the belief one holds.¹²
 xxx. Agitation over agitating conditions and the systematic exertion of one [thus] agitated.
 xxxi. Discontent in meritorious acts and perseverance in exertion.

¹ In Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1340, this term is not *la jja vo* (defined as *hiribalaṇ*, § 30), but *madda vo*.

² Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1343 f.

³ Literally, Not-hurting, defined as 'pity.'

⁴ Defined as purity of fraternal love (*mettā*).

⁵ I.e., of mindfulness (*sati*), muddleheadedness. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1349.

⁶ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1345 f.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, § 1355 f.

⁸ *Nimitta*, on which see Points, 387 f. Refers to *Jhāna*-practice.

⁹ Grasp = effort (*viriyāṇ*). Comy.

¹⁰ *Diṭṭhi*, associated with *sampadā*, *sampanno*, is always used in this sense. Cf. Points, 269, n. 3. In the Comy. the contents of xxvii precede those of xxvi.

¹¹ Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1365 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 357, n. 2.

xxxii. The higher wisdom¹ and emancipation.²

xxxiii. Knowledge how to extirpate and knowledge how to prevent recrudescence.³

These, friends, are the Double Doctrines perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting by all in concord, not a wrangling, that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained. That may be for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and of men.

III.

10. There are, friends, Triple Doctrines perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Hereon there should be a chanting in concord even by all, not a wrangling. . . . Which are these?

i. Three bad 'roots' (or conditions):—greed, hate, dullness..

ii. Three good 'roots':—disinterestedness, love; intelligence.⁴

iii. Three kinds of evil conduct, to wit, in act, word and thought.

¹ *Vijjā*. The term annexed from brahminism by the Buddha and made to refer, not to the three Vedas, but *either* to the whole field of 'insight,' intellectual and mystical, as in I, 124, *or*, as here (Comy.), to three tracts of that field, viz.—*ibid.*, Nos. 14-16. Cf. A. I, 163-5; Psalms of the Sisters, p. 26, n. 2.

² Both intellectual riddance of the five Hindrances and *Nibbāna*. Comy.

³ Cf. with Sum. V. Asl. 407 on this passage. 'Bearing on rebirth' (*paṭisaṇḍhivasena*), it apparently refers to the doctrine in the statement of which the figure of the palm-tree stump occurs—'so that they are destroyed and cannot grow up again.' See Vin. Texts II, 113. The phrase recurs in the *Nikāyas* several times.

⁴ Literally, the negatives of the three in i. They are invested, in Pali, with a positive force; they are contraries, logically speaking, not contradictories. B. allows an alternative reading: *akusalamūlam* means either 'bad root' or 'root of all that is bad.' 'Bad,' for a Buddhist, means 'productive of painful result,' 'demeritorious.'

[215] iv. Three kinds of fine conduct, to wit, in act, word and thought.

v. Three kinds of bad thoughts,¹ to wit, thoughts of sense-desire, of enmity, of cruelty.

vi. Three kinds of good thoughts, to wit, thoughts of renunciation,² of amity, of kindness.

vii. Three kinds of bad purposes . . . [as in v.].³

viii. Three kinds of good purposes . . . [as in vi.].

ix. Three kinds of bad notions . . . [as in v.].

x. Three kinds of good notions . . . [as in vi.].

xi. Three bad elements, to wit, of sense-desire, enmity, cruelty.

xii. Three good elements, . . . [as in vi.].

xiii. Other three elements, to wit, the sphere of sense-desire, that of the brahma-world, that of the higher heavens.⁴

xiv. Other three elements, to wit, the sphere of the brahma-world, that of the higher heavens, that of cessation.⁵

xv. Other three elements, to wit, low, medium and sublime spheres.⁶

[216] xvi. Three [directions of] craving, to wit, craving for the pleasures of this life, craving for life to come, craving for life to end.

¹ *Vitakkā*: an unspecialized expression in the Nikāyas; in *Abhidhamma*, *inception* of cogitative activity. Cf. p. 213, 1.

² *Nekkhamma*. B. does not analyze this term. By the context it is the contrary of *kāma* (sense-desire). 'All good states are *nekkhamma-dhātu*.' Comy.

³ *Sankappa*. 'There is no difference in the meaning (content, *attha*) of *sankappa* and *vitakka*.' Comy. Cf. *Compendium*, p. 238.

⁴ *Arūpadhātu*. Here *dhātu* is used to mean the place reached in rebirths (*āgatatthānasmig bhavena*), says B., and describes the three in the terms used in Dhs. (Bud. Psy. Eth.), §§ 1281-6. It will be seen that the lowest (5) spheres are included in the universe of sense desire (*kāma*; below, xl, xli.).

⁵ *Nibbāna* is here referred to. Comy. Cf. below, xviii.

⁶ I.e., the twelve classes of bad thoughts (Bud. Psy. Eth., § 365, f.), all other worldly (secular) thoughts, and (3) the nine spiritual thoughts. Comy. In the 'Bahudhātuka Sutta' (M. III, 61 f.), *dhātu*'s are enumerated in one category of 18, three of 6, one of 3, and one of 2.

xvii. Other three [directions of] craving, to wit, craving for life in the spheres of sense, for life in the brahma (rūpa) world, for life in the higher worlds.

xviii. Other three [directions of] craving :—craving for life in the lower spheres, for life in the higher spheres, for cessation.¹

xix. Three 'fetters,' to wit, the false opinion concerning individuality, doubt, inverted [judgment] as to rule and ritual.²

xx. Three intoxicants, to wit, the poisons³ of sensuality, future life and ignorance.

xxi. Three [planes of] rebirths, to wit, the universe of sense-desire, that of the lower and that of the higher worlds.

xxii. Three quests :—that of sensuous enjoyment, that of life renewed, that of [problems⁴ connected with] the religious life.

xxiii. Three forms [of conceit], to wit (1), 'I am better than . . .,' (2) 'I am equal to . . .,' (3) 'I am worse than . . .'.⁵

xxiv. Three periods, to wit, past, future, present.⁶

¹ Here taken in the sense of 'for life to end' (xvi.), the Ucceda or Annihilationist view. See Vibhanga, 365 f., where the 3 threes are defined, and which B. quotes. B. concludes: 'What did he teach in this section (xvi.-xviii.)? That under the aspect of lusting, all ideas of life are based on [what is termed] taṇhā, and as all taṇhā is permeated (pariyāditvā) by sensuous craving, he shows the other two forms as deduced (niharitvā) from that.' Cf. above, xiv.

² See Expositor i, 65. B.'s note on the first runs: belief in the actual existence of a kāya consisting in body and mind—i.e., of a soul (attā) in either of them.

³ 'Āsava, in the sense of surrounding, or of flowing up to . . . e.g., from the eye (or sight) a flowing, percolating, rolling on into the object . . . Abhidhamma, adding diṭṭhi (erroneous opinion), gives four.' Comy. Cf. Dhs., §§ 1096-1100, and above, p. 175, n. 1.

⁴ Brahmācariyesanā—i.e., eschatological problems, concerning the soul and its beginning, nature, and ending (antaḡāhikā diṭṭhi). See Vibh., p. 366.

⁵ See Vibh. 367; S. I, 12 (20); III, 48. The first form, says B., besets kings and recluses; the second, the king's officials; the third form is characteristic of servants (?).

⁶ Addhā. The Four Nikāyas use addhānaṇ, e.g., A. V. 32; S. I, 140. B. distinguishes between the religious and philo-

xxv. Three limits, to wit, individuality,¹ its rising, its cessation.²

xxvi. Three [modes of] feelings, to wit, pleasant, painful and neutral feeling.

xxvii. Three states of suffering, to wit, pain, conditioned existence, change.³

[217] xxviii. Three 'heaps,' to wit, that of wrongdoing entailing immutable evil results, that of well-doing entailing immutable⁴ good results, and that of everything not so determined.

xxix. Three doubts,⁵ to wit, doubts, perplexity, inability to decide, dissatisfaction concerning past, future and present.

xxx. Three things which a Buddha⁶ has not to guard against: a Buddha, friends, is pure in conduct whether of act, or speech, or thought. There is no misdeed of any kind concerning which he must take good care lest another should come to know of it.

xxxi. Three obstacles,⁷ to wit, lust, hate, illusion.

sophical denotation of a d d h ā (Suttanta-, Abhidhamma-pariyāyā). In the former, 'the present' refers to one span of life; 'the past' is time prior to this span of life; 'the future' is time after decease from this life. In the latter, the present is any threefold instant (nascent, static, cessant); past and future precede and follow that.

¹ *Sakkāyo*. 'The five aggregates (body and mind) of grasping.' Comy.

² 'The discontinuance, extinction (*nibbāna*) of both.' Comy.

³ The first *dukkhatā* is painful feeling, the second is neutral feeling, but is our oppressed awareness of the tyranny of birth, old age, and dissolution. The third is pleasant feeling, but with the accompanying sense of liability to be plunged into sorrow. Such is the substance of B.'s comment.

⁴ *Niyata*: certain, fixed. The first are the crimes enumerated in Points, 80, n. 5; cf. p. 177, n. 1; the second, the fourfold Path and its fruits. On 'heap' see op. cit. XXI, 7.

⁵ B. reads *tamā* for *kankhā*: 'obfuscations.'

⁶ *Tathāgata*, here clearly meaning a Buddha, at least according to commentarial tradition, since B. proceeds to show the little difference in the case of 'other Arahants,' who needed to take care. He instances the conduct of *Sāriputta* in the 'Cātuma-sutta,' M. I, 459, explaining the latter's motive. Cf. Ang. IV, 82, where the 'friends' is omitted.

⁷ Literally, 'somewhats.' The secondary meaning is para-

xxxii. Three fires, to wit, lust, hate, illusion.

xxxiii. Other three fires, to wit, the fire of the worshipful, the fire of the head of the household, the fire of those worthy of offerings.¹

xxxiv. Threefold classification of matter, to wit, as visible and resisting, as invisible and resisting, as invisible and unresisting.²

xxxv. Three accumulations,³ to wit, complexes of merit, of demerit, of inconstitute [results].^{3a}

[218] xxxvi. Three kinds of persons, to wit, the learner, the adept, he who is neither.⁴

xxxvii. Three kinds of seniors, to wit, an aged layman, an eminent bhikkhu, a bhikkhu officially ranked as 'senior'.⁵

xxxviii. Three bases by merit accomplished, to wit, the bases⁶ composed of giving, of virtue, of study.

xxxix. Three bases for reproof, to wit, that which has been seen, that which has been heard, that which one suspects.⁷

xl. Three uprisings of desires connected with sense :
(1) There are beings, friends, whose sense-desires are bound up with the objects thereof, and they are in subjection to such desire. Such are human beings,

phrased by 'palibodho.' Cf. B. here, and Comy. on Dap. 200 (III, 258).

¹ I.e., the ministry due to parents, to children, wife and dependents, and to the religious world. Ang IV, 45; cf. II, 70.

² Or non-reacting. A psycho-physical category. See Bud. Psy. Eth., §§ 754-6. The third kind is also applicable to very subtle matter. Comy.

³ Sankhāra:—because 'they compound co-existent states and states of future-life-results; they make a heap (rāsiṃ).' Comy. But cf. above, p. 204, n. 2.

^{3a} Aneñjabhisankhāro:—it compounds what is immovable . . . has become result, is immaterial . . . a synonym for will for rebirth in the Arūpa heavens. Comy. Cf. S. II, 82 f.; Vibh. 135, 340.

⁴ I.e., the puthujjana, or 'man in the street,' average person.

⁵ Whom the novices speak of as 'thera.' Comy.

⁶ Grounds for profit, advantages.

⁷ To be consulted in detail in the Sāmantapāsādikā (B.'s Comy. on the Vinaya). Comy.

some devas and some reborn to [one of the four] evil destinies. (2) There are beings who have desires for that which [they have] created; such are the devas so called (Nimmānaratī), who having created one thing after another are in subjection to such desires. (3) There are beings who have desires for the creations of others; and get these into their power; such are the devas¹ so called (Paranimmita-vāsavattī).

xli. Three happy rebirths.—(1) There are beings, friends, who [in a former birth] having continually produced, dwell now in happiness; such are the devas of the Brahmā group. (2) There are beings who are soaked and steeped in happiness, full of it, pervaded by it. They from time to time pour forth ecstatic utterance saying: 'Oh the bliss of it! Ah what happiness! Such are the Radiant Devas'² (3) There are beings who are similarly filled with happiness . . . pervaded by it: they, serenely blissful, experience only sublime [219] happiness. Such are the Luminous Devas.³

xlii. Three kinds of knowledge: that of the learner, that of the adept, that of him who is neither.

xliii. Other three kinds of knowledge:—knowledge that is thought out, knowledge that is learned (from another), knowledge that is gained by [cultural] development.⁴

xliv. Three kinds of armour:—that of doctrine learnt, that of detachment,⁵ that of knowledge.

xlv. Three faculties:—that of coming to know the unknown, that of knowing, that of perfected knowledge.⁶

¹ These two curiously named groups are the highest stages of life in the 'sensuous universe.' Cf. below, p. 241.

² Devā Abhassarā. Cf. Kindred Sayings, p. 144, and Compendium, p. 138.

³ Subhakiṇṇa devas; ninth in the Rūpa worlds. For tesā taṃ yeva the Comy. reads te santam eva, santam meaning paṇitaṃ.

⁴ Cf. Bud. Psy., p. 130.

⁵ Detachment of body (solitude), of mind (purity), and from the conditions of rebirth. Comy.

⁶ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., §§ 296, 364, 555; Vibh., p. 124; P.P., p. 2; Yam. II, 61.

xlvi. Three kinds of vision, to wit, the eye of flesh, the heavenly eye, the eye of insight.¹

xlvii. Three courses of training, to wit, the higher morality, the higher mental training, the higher insight.²

xlviii. Three [branches of] culture, to wit, the culture of sense-impressions,³ of mind, of insight.

xlix. Three supreme things, to wit, that of vision, that of procedure, that of freedom.⁴

i. Three species of concentration⁵ :—that of mental application followed by sustained thought, that of sustained thought without mental application, that of concentration without either.

ii. Other three species of concentration :—concentrative insight into ‘emptiness,’ ‘signlessness,’ ‘end of baneful longing.’⁶

lii. Three purities, to wit, of action, speech and thought.

[220] liii. Three factors of the anchorite,⁷ to wit, a certain attitude respecting conduct, respecting speech, respecting thought.

liv. Three proficiencies, to wit, proficiency as to progress, regress, and the means of success.⁸

lv. Three intoxications, to wit, the pride of health, the pride of youth, the pride of life.

lvi. Three dominant influences [on effort]; to wit, the influence of self-[criticism], the influence of the community, the influence of spiritual things.

¹ Cf. *Iti-vuttaka*, § 61.

² Cf. A. I, 235; *Buddhism* (by Mrs. Rhys Davids), 1912, p. 199 f.

³ *Kāyo*, usually, in *Abidhamma*, referring to the psycho-physical mechanism of sense. Culture is literally making to become, developing.

⁴ B. refers these to categories of Path, Fruit, and *Nibbāna*, with alternative assignments.

⁵ *Samādhi*. Cf. M. III, 162; S. IV, 360; A. IV, 300; *Compendium* 95.

⁶ Cf. *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, p. 91 f.; *Compendium* 216.

⁷ *Moneyyāni*: *munibhāvakarā dhammā*. Comy.

⁸ *Āyo*, *apāyo*, *upāyo*: derivatives from i, to go. The second more usually covers all evil rebirth.

lvii. Three bases of discourse, to wit '(1) discourse may be concerned with the past :—' Such things were in the past ' ; (2) discourse may be concerned with the future :—' So will it be in time to come, ' or (3) with the present :—' So has it come to pass at the present day. '

lviii. Three branches of wisdom, to wit, knowledge of one's former lives, knowledge of the decease and rebirth of beings, knowledge in the destruction of the 'intoxicants.'¹

lix. Three states, to wit, deva-consciousness, the divine states, the Ariyan state.²

lx. Three wonders, to wit, the wonder of mystic power, the wonder of manifestation, the wonder of education.³

These triple states, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha supreme. Here should there be a chanting in concord by all, not a wrangling . . . for . . . the happiness of devas and men.

IV.

[221] 11. Fourfold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha supreme. Here should there be a chanting in concord by all, not a wrangling . . . for . . . the happiness of devas and of men. Which are these ?

i. Four applications of mindfulness,⁴ to wit :— Herein, friends, let a brother as to the body . . . as

¹ Or Āsava's. On the annexation, with the meanings above given, of the adjective *te-vijjō*, see Psalms of the Sisters, 26, n. 2. B. exegetically paraphrases *vijjā as tamaṇ vijjhati*, pierces the gloom, i.e., of the unknown.

² The first is the conscious experience of the 'Eight Attainments' or *Jhānas*, the second that of the Four Exercises in sublime emotion (cf. I, p. 317 f.), the third is that of the Fruitions.

³ See I, p. 277 f.

⁴ See Vol. II, p. 327 f.

to feelings . . . as to thought . . . as to ideas continue so to look on these [severally and in order], that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, overcoming both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

ii. Four supreme efforts,¹ to wit:—Herein, friends, a brother, in order that unrisen wrong and wicked ideas may not arise . . . in order that wrong and wicked ideas if arisen, may be put away . . . in order that unrisen good ideas may arise . . . in order that good ideas, if arisen, may persist, may be clarified, multiplied, expanded, developed, perfected, generates will, endeavours, stirs up energy, makes firm his mind, struggles.

iii. Four stages to efficiency (iddhi).² Herein, friends, a brother develops the stage which is characterized by (1) the mental co-efficient of an effort of purposive concentration; (2) by the mental co-efficient of an effort of intellectual concentration; (3) by the mental co-efficient of an effort of energized [222] concentration; (4) by the mental co-efficient of an effort of investigating concentration.

iv. Four Jhānas. Herein, friends, a brother, aloof from sensuous appetites, aloof from evil ideas, enters into and abides in the First Jhāna, wherein there is initiative and sustained thought, which is born of solitude, and is full of zest and ease. Secondly, etc. . . .³

v. Four developments of concentration,⁴ to wit, that which when practised and expanded, conduces to (1) pleasure in this life; (2) acquisition of intuition and insight; (3) mindfulness and well-awareness; (4) destruction of 'spiritual intoxicants.' Which are these severally? (1) is the Fourfold Jhāna. [223] (2) is when a brother attends to the sensation of light,⁵ sustains the perception of daylight, and attends to light

¹ Above, Vol. II, 344.

² Vol. II, 110.

³ Above, p. 123 f.

⁴ Ang. II, 44.

⁵ Proceeding from sun, moon, gems, etc. S. Sumangala renders the next clause as:—'fixing it in his mind that at night the sun is up and there is light, and *vice versa* during the day.'

no less in the nighttime, and thus, with open and unmuffled consciousness, creates a radiant luminous mind. (3) is the understanding of each feeling, or perception, or thought, as they severally arise, remain present and vanish. (4) is the keeping watch over the five aggregates of grasping, as they rise and cease :—‘ This is material . . . this is the appearance of something material . . . this is its vanishing, and so on.’

vi. Four ‘infinitudes,’¹ to wit :—Herein, brethren, a brother lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of love . . . pity . . . sympathy in joy . . . equanimity, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus [224] the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does he continue to pervade with heart . . . far-reaching, grown great and beyond measure, free from anger and ill-will.

vii. Four Jhānas of Arūpa-consciousness, to wit² :—Herein, brethren, a brother, by passing beyond the consciousness of matter, by the dying out of the sensation of resistance, by paying no heed to the idea of difference, at the thought : ‘space is infinite!’ attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of space as infinite. (2) Having wholly transcended this, at the thought : ‘Infinite is consciousness!’ he attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of consciousness as infinite. (3) Having wholly transcended this, at the thought : ‘It is nothing!’ he attains to and abides in the conceptual sphere of nothingness. (4) Having wholly transcended this, he attains to and abides in the sphere of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

viii. Four Bases of Conduct³ :—Herein, brethren, a brother judges that a certain thing is to be habitually pursued, another thing is to be endured, another to be avoided, another to be suppressed.

¹ Called ‘divine states’ (*Brahma vihārā*) in lix. of the Triple Doctrines. See Vol. II, p. 219 f.; *Visuddhi Magga*, p. 320.

² Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, 117 f.; *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, §§ 265 f.; *Dial.*, I, 249 f.; II, 119 f.

³ Cf. R. Morris in *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 71, on the term *a p a s s e n a*.

ix. Four Ariyan lineages. Herein, brethren, a brother is content with whatever robes [he may have], commends contentment of this kind, and does not try to gain robes in improper unsuitable ways. And he is not dismayed if he gain no robe, but when he has gained one, he is not greedy, nor infatuated nor overwhelmed; he wears it heedful lest he incur evil and understanding its object. Finally, by this contentment as to any garment, he neither is puffed up nor disparages others. Now he that is expert, not slothful, heedful, mindful, [225] is called, brethren, a brother who is true to the ancient distinguished lineage of the Ariyans.

The same is he who is similarly content with his alms, and with his lodging.

Lastly, brethren, the brother who, having the love both of eliminating on the one hand, and of developing on the other, loves both to eliminate and to develop, in loving both, neither is puffed up, nor disparages others. He that is herein expert, not slothful, heedful, mindful, is called a brother who is true to the ancient distinguished lineage of the Ariyans.

x. Four exertions,¹ to wit, self-control, eliminating, developing, safe-guarding. What is the first? Herein, brethren, when a brother sees an object with the eye, and is not entranced by the general appearance or the details of it, [226] but sets himself to restrain that which might give occasion for bad, wicked states, covetousness, dejection to flow in over him were he to dwell unrestrained as to the faculty of sight, and to keep watch over that faculty, and attains to mastery over it . . . and similarly as to the other four senses and mind, such an effort is called exertion in self-control.² (2) What is exertion in elimination? Herein, brethren, a brother, when a sensual, malign, or cruel thought has arisen, will not endure it, but puts it away, suppresses, exterminates it and makes it non-existent. Such an

¹ *Paḍhānaṃ*, here paraphrased by *uttama-viriyaṃ*.

² Cf. *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, § 1347.

exertion is called exertion in elimination. (3) What is exertion in developing? Herein, brethren, a brother cultivates each of the seven factors of enlightenment¹ which are based upon detachment, upon passionlessness, upon cessation, and wherein is maturity² of self-surrender.³ This is called exertion in development. (4) What is exertion in safe-guarding? Herein, brethren, a brother keeps pure and genuine⁴ an auspicious object of concentrated imagination when it has arisen, [such as] one of the contemplations of foul things. This is called exertion in safe-guarding.

xi. Four knowledges,⁵ to wit, knowledge of the Doctrine, knowledge in its corollaries, knowledge of what is in another's consciousness,⁶ and popular knowledge.⁷

[227] xii. Other four knowledges, to wit: knowledge regarding suffering, genesis, cessation, path.

xiii. Four factors in 'Stream-attainment,' to wit, intercourse with the good, hearing the good doctrine, systematized⁸ attention, practice in those things that lead up to the doctrine and its corollaries.

xiv. Four factors of his state who has attained the stream. Herein, brethren, the Ariyan disciple has an

¹ Or 'wings of wisdom,' i.e., mindfulness, investigation of doctrine, energy, zest, serenity, rapt contemplation, equanimity.

² All synonyms, says B., for Nibbāna.

³ B. repeats this rendering of *vossagga-pariṇāmi* in commenting on S. I, 88 (K.S., p. 113, n. 3). Surrender means both giving up and plunging in (after Nibbāna).

⁴ So B.: *sodhāti*. The text merely repeats *anurakkhati*.

⁵ Of this category, (1) and (2) occur in S. II, 57 f. There they are described respectively as the 'four truths' applied to 'decay and death,' and this tradition as loyally held and to be held. Vibhanga, 329 f., gives the four, describing (1) as understanding the four paths and their fruits, and (2) as tradition of the four truths respecting suffering as loyally held, etc. B. here quotes Vibh., but defines (1) as the four truths.

⁶ For *pariccheda-* read (as in B. and Vibh.) *paricce-*. B.: *paresaṇ citta-paricchede nāṇaṇ*. But he reads *paricce* in the text.

⁷ Cf. Milinda i, 226.

⁸ On *yoniśo* as thus rendered, cf. K.S. I, 131, and in Index.

unshakeable faith (i) in the Buddha :—‘ So he too, the Exalted One, is Arahant, supremely enlightened, full of wisdom and goodness, Blessed One, world-knower, peerless driver and tamer of men, teacher of devas and men, Buddha, Exalted One! ’ (2) in the Norm :—Well proclaimed by the Exalted One is the Norm, effective in this life and without delay, bidding us come and see, leading us onward, to be known by the wise as a personal experience. (3) in the Order :—Well practised is the Order of the Exalted One’s disciples, in uprightness, method and propriety, namely, the four pairs of persons, the eight classes of individuals. This is the Order of the Exalted One’s disciples, to whom offerings and ministering should be made, and gifts and reverent greeting as unto the supreme field of merit throughout the world. (4) Endowed is it with virtues lovely to the Ariyans, unbroken and flawless, consistently practised, unblemished, making men free, commended by the wise, unperturbed and conducing to rapt concentration.¹

xv. Four fruits of the life of a recluse, to wit, the fruit of [the fourfold path, i.e. of] Stream-attainment, of the Once-returner, of the Never-returner, of Arahantship.²

[228] xvi. Four elements, to wit, the extended [or earthy], the cohesive [or watery], the hot [or fiery], the mobile [or aerial] element.

xvii. Four supports [or foods], to wit, solid [bodily] food, whether gross or subtle, contact, as the second, motive or purpose as third, consciousness [in rebirth] as fourth.³

xviii. Four stations of consciousness. Brethren, when consciousness gaining a foothold persists, it is

¹ Cf. II, 100.

² Cf. I, 65 f., where the ‘fruits’ are differently, less technically, less eschatologically described; and above, p. 124, § 25, where they agree with the present description.

³ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 61 f. B. gives as a special aspect under which sections xiii.-xv. are to be regarded, ‘their [relative] grossness and subtlety by way of harsh or pleasant basis’ (lūkhapaṇitavattuvasena)

either in connection with material qualities, or with [a co-efficient of] feeling, or perception or volitional complexes. In connection with any of these as an instrument, as an object of thought, as a platform, as a seat of enjoyment, it attains to growth, increase, abundance.¹

xix. Four ways of going astray,² to wit, through partiality, hate, illusion, fear.

xx. Four uprisings of craving. Brethren, craving arises in a brother because of raiment, alms, lodging, and dainty foods.³

xxi. Four rates of progress, to wit, when progress is difficult and intuition slow, when progress is difficult but intuition comes swiftly, when progress is easy, but intuition is slow, and when progress is easy, and intuition comes swiftly.⁴

[229] xxii. Other four modes of progress, to wit, exercise without endurance, with endurance, with taming (of faculties), with calm.⁵

xxiii. Four divisions of doctrine, to wit, [when the highest things are attained by an attitude of] (1) disinterestedness, or (2) amity, or (3) perfect mindfulness, or (4) perfect concentration.⁶

xxiv. Four religious undertakings:—(1) one that brings present suffering and in the future painful consequences; (2) one that brings present suffering and in

¹ Cf. S. III, 53, where B.'s comment is fuller: consciousness, functioning by the other four khandhas, eventuates in action; action (*karma*) entails rebirth, hence increase or propagation of consciousness.

² *Agatim gacchati*, literally, he goes to a not-going, or wrong going, or impasse. See above, XXIX, § 26; XXXI, 5.

³ *Bhava bhavo*, existence-nonexistence, is an idiomatic expression for future life or annihilation, e.g. *Sutta-Nipāta*, 496 (and *Comy.*); or higher or lower rebirth, *Psalms of the Brethren*, verse 784. Here, according to B., it means oil, honey, ghee, etc.

⁴ See XXVIII, § 10.

⁵ I.e., when engaged in concentration (*samādhi*), are cold and other hardships endured? Are sensuous thoughts tolerated? *Comy.*

⁶ Namely, when *jhāna*, insight, a Path, a Fruit, *Nibbāna* is reached. *Comy.*

the future happy consequences ; (3) one that brings present pleasure and in the future painful consequences ; (4) one that brings present happiness and in the future happy consequences.¹

xxv. Four bodies of doctrine, to wit, morals, concentrative exercise, insight,² emancipation.

xxvi. Four powers, to wit, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

xxvii. Four resolves, to wit, to gain insight, to win truth, to surrender [all evil], to master self.

xxviii. Four modes of answering questions, to wit, the categorical reply, the discriminating reply, the counter-question reply, the waived question.³

[230] xxix. Four kinds of action, to wit, that which is dark with dark result, that which is bright with bright result, mixed, with mixed result, that which is neither, with neither kind of result, and conduces to the destruction of karma (action).⁴

xxx. Four matters to be realized,⁵ to wit, former lives, to be realized by clear mentality;⁶ decease and rebirth, to be realized by the 'heavenly eye'; the eight deliverances, to be realized by all the mental factors;⁶ destruction of intoxicants, to be realized by insight.⁷

¹ (1) is the course followed by ascetics (*acelakas*) ; (2) is that of the religious student handicapped by passions but tearfully persevering ; (3) is that of the sensualist ; (4) that of the recluse in the Order, even though he be lacking in comforts. Comy.

² Read *paññā* - for *puññā*.

³ B. says these are discussed in the 'Mahāpadesa kathā.' This is apparently not the sermon on the 'four Mahāpadesa' in A. II, 167, nor the brief summary (as above) in A. II, 46, but the sermon on the 'Tīṇi Kathāvatthūni,' in A. I, 197. There is apparently no Mahāpadesa kathā in the Dīgha.

⁴ Dark and bright are meant ethically and eschatologically ; a parallel pair of terms : *tamo*, *joti*, is used in K.S. I, 118 f., and below, xlix. The fourth alternative is [mental activity in] Fourfold Path-knowledge.

⁵ I.e., by making them present to the eye (*paccakkha karaṇena*) and acquiring them. Comy. Cf. below, 253, x.

⁶ I.e., by all co-nascent factors in the *nāma kāyo*, or mind-group, at any given moment.

⁷ By knowledge of the fruit of Arahantship.

xxxi. Four floods, to wit, sensual desires, life renewed, error, ignorance.

xxxii. Four bonds . . . (same as xxxi).

xxxiii. Four bond-loosenings, to wit, from sensual desires, etc. (as in xxxi).

xxxiv. Four knots, to wit, the body-knots¹ of covetousness, of malevolence, of inverted judgment as to rule and ritual, and of the inclination to dogmatize.

xxxv. Four graspings,² to wit, the laying hold of sensual desires, of error, of rules and rites, of the soul-theory.

xxxvi. Four matrices, to wit, the matrix of birth by an egg, the viviparous matrix, the matrix of moist places, and rebirth as deva.

[231] xxxvii. Four classes of conception at rebirth.³ Herein, brethren, one person descends into the mother's womb unknowing, abides there unknowing, departs thence unknowing. This is the first class of conception. Next, another person descends deliberately, but abides and departs unknowing. Next another person descends and abides deliberately, but departs unknowing. Lastly, another person descends, abides and departs deliberately.

xxxviii. Four methods of acquiring new personality, to wit, (1) in which our own volition works, not another's, (2) in which another's volition works, not ours, (3) in which both our own and another's volition work, (4) in which the volition of neither works.⁴

xxxix. Four modes of purity in offerings, to wit, (1) when a gift is purely made on the part of the giver, but not purely received; (2) when a gift is made pure by the recipient, not by the giver; (3) when the gift is

¹ Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 305, n. 1. B. repeats the same comment in both Commentaries.

² In other words, 'takings, seizings.' Comy.

³ Cf. above XXVIII, § 5.

⁴ The second of these is illustrated by the slaughter of an animal by a butcher. The other three cases are referred to the decease and rebirth of the devas referred to in Vol. I, pp. 32 and 33, and of other devas respectively.

made pure by both ; (4) when the gift is made pure by neither¹ [232].

xl. Four grounds of popularity, to wit, liberality, kindly speech, justice, impartiality.²

xli. Four un-Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, lying, slander, abuse, vain chatter.

xliv. Four Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, abstinence from any of the preceding.³

xliv. Other four un-Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, declaring that to have been seen, heard, thought of,⁴ known, which has not been seen, not been heard, not thought of, not known.

xliv. Other four Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, declaring truthfully respecting the four preceding cases.

xliv. Other four un-Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, declaring that to have been unseen, unheard, etc., which was seen, heard, etc.

xlvi. Other four Ariyan modes of speech, to wit, declaring that which has been seen to have been seen, etc.

xlvi. Four classes of individuals. Herein, brethren, (1) a certain individual torments himself, is devoted to self-mortification ; (2) another torments others, is devoted to torturing others ; (3) another torments both himself and others ; (4) another torments neither himself nor others nor is devoted to tormenting either. He thus abstaining [233] lives his life void of longings, perfected, cool, in blissful enjoyment, his whole self ennobled.⁵

¹ I.e., purified by the virtuous character and motives of the one or the other. B. illustrates (1) by Vessantara's elephant. Jāt. VI, 487.

² See above, p. 145.

³ The Burmese printed edition transposes xli., xlii.

⁴ *Mutaṇ*, sometimes interpreted as the other three senses. B. is silent. Cf. p. 127, n. 2.

⁵ Literally, become as *Brahmā*, or at its best. The passage, which occurs in several Suttas, is quoted in the *Kathāvatthu* (Points, p. 25) by the Animists (*Puggalavādins*) to justify their asserting the existence of 'a *puggala*,' or animistic entity.

xlvi. Other four individuals. Herein, brethren, (1) a certain person whose conduct makes for his own good, not for that of others; (2) another whose conduct makes for others' good, not his own; (3) another's conduct makes for neither; (4) another's conduct makes both for his own good and for that of others.¹

xlix. Other four individuals, to wit, (1) living in darkness and bound for the dark; (2) living in darkness and bound for the light; (3) living in the light and bound for the darkness; (4) living in the light and bound for the light.²

1. Other four individuals, to wit, the unshaken recluse, the blue lotus recluse, the white lotus recluse, the exquisite recluse.³

These fourfold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows . . . (as on p. 204, § 8) . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

Here endeth the first portion for recitation.

V.

2. 1. There are Fivefold Doctrines, friends, which have been perfectly declared by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, Arahant, Buddha supreme. Herein should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they?

i. Five aggregates, to wit, of material qualities, feeling, perception, volitional complexes, consciousness.

¹ B. instances (1) Thera Bākula (or Bakkula), who entered the Order at eighty (? too old to convert others), Psalms of the Brethren, p. 159. (2) Upananda, whose bad conduct hindered his own good, though as recluse he helped others, Vin. Texts, e.g., I, 321 f.; III, 392, n. 2. (3) Devadatta the schismatic, and (4) Great Kassapa (see Psalms of the Brethren, p. 359 f.).

² See above xxix.

³ Interpreted as those in the Four Paths.

ii. Five aggregates [regarded as vehicles] of grasping, to wit, as above. [234] . . .

iii. Five kinds of sensuous pleasures, to wit, the five kinds of sense-objects cognized severally through each sense as desirable, pleasant, agreeable, charming and lovely, bound up with sensuous desires and exciting the passions.

iv. Five ways of destiny, to wit, purgatory, the animal kingdom, the realm of the 'departed' (Petas), mankind, the devas.

v. Five forms of meanness,¹ to wit, in hospitality, in [monopolizing a ministering] family, in gains acquired, in beauty physical and moral, in [monopolizing learnt] truths.

vi. Five hindrances, to wit, sensuality, ill-will, sloth and torpor, excitement and worry, doubt.

vii. Five fetters as to lower worlds, to wit, error of permanent individual entity, doubt, wrong judgment as to rules and ritual, sensuality, malevolence.

viii. Five fetters as to upper [worlds], to wit, lust after rebirth in Rūpa [worlds], lust after rebirth in Arūpa [worlds], conceit, excitement, ignorance.

[235] ix. Five branches of moral training, to wit, abhorrence of murder, theft, in chastity, lying, and intemperance in drink.

x. Five impossibles, to wit, for an Arahant intentionally to take life, or to take what is not given, so as to amount to theft, or to commit sexual offences, or to lie deliberately, or to spend stored up treasures in worldly enjoyments, as in the days before he left the world.

xi. Five kinds of losses, to wit, of kinsfolk, of wealth, disease, loss of character, loss of sound opinions. No being, friends, because of any of the first three kinds of loss, is after death and bodily dissolution reborn to disaster, to evil destiny, to downfall, to purgatory. But this happens because of the last two kinds of loss.

¹ Macchariyam, implying also avarice, selfishness. Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., § 1122 and n.; K.S., p. 27, § 2.

xii. Five kinds of prosperity, to wit, in kinsfolk, wealth, health, virtue, and sound opinion. No being, friends, because of any of the first three kinds, is after death and dissolution reborn to a happy destiny in a bright world. But this happens because of success in virtue and in winning sound opinions.

xiii. Five disasters to the immoral by lapse from virtuous habits. [236] Herein, friends,¹ an immoral person, having lapsed in virtuous habits, incurs, through want of industry, great loss of wealth. Secondly, an evil reputation as to his moral lapse spreads abroad. Thirdly, whatever assembly he attends, whether of nobles, brahmins, householders, members of a religious order, he comes in diffident and disturbed. Fourthly, he dies baffled and without assurance. Fifthly, on the dissolution of the body after death, he is reborn into an unhappy state, an evil destiny, a downfall, a purgatory.¹

xiv. Five advantages to the moral man through his success in virtuous conduct. Herein, friends, in the first place, he acquires through industry great wealth. Secondly, good reports of him spread abroad. Thirdly, whatever assembly he attends, whether of nobles, brahmins, householders, or members of a religious order, he enters confident and undisturbed. Fourthly, he dies with lucid and assured mind. Fifthly, he is reborn to a happy destiny in a bright world.

xv. Five points, friends, should be present inwardly to a brother who is desirous of chiding another. 'I will speak at a timely moment, not at an untimely moment.'² I will utter what is true, not what is fictitious. I will speak mildly, not roughly. I will speak from a [237] desire for his good, not for his hurt. I will speak with love in my heart, not enmity.'

xvi. Five factors in spiritual wrestling. Herein,

¹ These two paragraphs form an address, or the outlines of one, given to the lay disciples at Pāṭaligāma. See II, 90 f.

² Not, e.g., in a public room, assembly, refectory; at the mid-day rest he should seek opportunity, saying, 'I should like to speak to the reverend brother,' but not in the case of anyone uttering slander. Comy.

friends, a brother has confidence, believing in the Tathāgata's enlightenment :—'Thus is the Exalted One: he is Arahant fully awakened, wisdom he has, and righteousness; he is the Well-Farer; he has knowledge of the worlds; he is the supreme driver of men willing to be tamed; the teacher of devas and men; the Awakened and Exalted One'—he is in good health, exempt from suffering, endowed with a smoothly assimilating digestion, neither overheated nor too chilly, but medium, suited for exertion. He is not deceitful nor crafty, honestly making known himself for what he is to the Teacher, or to wise persons among his fellow-disciples. He maintains a flow of energy in eliminating wrong states of mind and evoking good states, vigorous, strongly reaching out, not shirking toil with respect to good states of mind. He has insight, being endowed with understanding which goes to the rise and cessation of all things, Ariyan, penetrating, going to the perfect destruction of ill.

xvii. Five Pure Abodes, to wit, the heavens called Avihā, Atappā, Sudassā, Sudāssi, Akanitṭha.¹

xviii. Five classes of persons become Never-returns :—one who passes away before middle age in that world in which he has been reborn, one who so passes after middle age, one who so passes without much toil, with ease, one who so passes with toil and difficulty, one who striving 'upstream' is reborn in the Akanitṭha world.²

xix. Five spiritual barrennesses.³ [238] Herein, friends, a brother doubts, is perplexed about the Master, comes to no definite choice, is not satisfied. He being thus, his mind does incline (lit. bend) towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion :—this is the first barrenness. When he doubts, is perplexed about the Doctrine, the Order, the Training, these are, in

¹ On the last four names, see II, p. 41. B. refers to this. The five are the topmost Rūpa worlds. Cf. Points, 74, n. 2.

² It was believed that these completed life as we conceive it, in a final rebirth in one of these five heavens. Cf. A. IV. 14 f.

³ Paraphrased exegetically as unbelief, stubbornness.

order, the second, third and fourth barrennesses. When he is offended with his fellow-disciples, vexed, agitated, sterile towards them, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, etc.¹

xx. Five bondages of the mind. Herein, brethren, when a brother has not got rid of the passion for sense-desires, of desire, fondness, thirst, fever, craving for them, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion. In the same way, when a brother has not got rid of the passion, desire, fondness, thirst, fever, craving for his own person,² or again for external objects, he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion. Fourthly, if a brother have eaten as much as his stomach can hold,³ and then abides given over to the ease of repose, of turning from this side to that,⁴ of sloth . . . and, fifthly, [239] if a brother have adopted the religious life with the aspiration of belonging to some one or other of the deva-groups, thinking : —By these rules or by these rites or by these austerities or by this religious life I shall become a greater, or a lesser deva ;⁵ he being thus, his mind does not incline towards ardour, devotion, perseverance, exertion.

xxi. Five faculties,⁶ to wit, those of the five senses.

xxii. Other five faculties, to wit, that of pleasure, of pain, joy, grief, indifference.

xxiii. Other five faculties, to wit, that of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

xxiv. Five elements tending to deliverance. Herein,

¹ See Bud. Suttas (S.B.E. XI); p. 223 f., also for following section (XX.): translation of the Cetokhila Sutta, Majjhima I.

² Kāye. Attano kāye, is the comment. Kāyo means the whole personal aggregate, not the physical factor only; all that is ajjhattam, in distinction to the next bondage, where rūpe is explained as bahiddhā: 'external' to self.

³ Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, ver. 935, n. 1; J.P.T.S., 1886, 150.

⁴ The Comy. reads passa not phassa, and explains as above. Cf. Psalms of the Brethren, ibid.

⁵ B. explains as mahesakkho, appesakkho vā.

⁶ Indriyāni, lit. controlling powers.

friends, when a brother is contemplating sensuous desires, his heart does not leap forward to them, nor rest complacent in them, does not choose them.¹ But when he is contemplating renunciation of them, his heart leaps forward, rests complacent in it, chooses it. [240] This frame of mind he gets well in hand, well developed, well lifted up, well freed and detached from sense-desires. And those intoxicants, those miseries, those fevers which arise in consequence of sense-desires, from all these he is freed, nor does he feel that sort of feeling. This is pronounced to be the first deliverance. Similarly for the other four elements, namely, from ill will, cruelty, external objects and individuality. [241]

xxv. Five occasions of emancipation. Herein, friends, when the Master, or a reverend fellow-disciple teaches the Norm to a brother, according as the teaching is given, the listener comes to know both the matter of the doctrine, and the text of the doctrine.² And gladness springs up in him, and in him gladdened zest springs up; his mind enraptured, the faculties³ become serene; with serenity comes happiness, and of him thus happy the heart is stayed and firm.⁴ This is the first occasion. In the next place, a brother has a similar experience not from hearing the Master or a reverend fellow-disciple teach, but while himself teaching others the Norm in detail, as he has learnt and got it by memory. . . . This is the second occasion. In the third place, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first two occasions, but when he is reciting the doctrines of the Norm in detail as he has learnt and got them by memory. . . . [242] This is the third occasion. In the fourth place, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first three occasions, but when he applies his thought to the Norm as he has

¹ Na vimuccatī nādhimuccatī.

² 'Matter' and 'text' are in the Comy. pāli-attham and pāliṃ.

³ Kāyo here = nāmakāyo, 'mental group.' Comy.

⁴ 'By the samādhi of the fruit of arahantship.' Comy. Cf. Vol. I. 84, § 75. This sentence is repeated after each of the five.

learnt and got it by memory, and sustains protracted meditation on it and contemplates it in mind. . . . This is the fourth occasion. Finally, a brother has a similar experience, not on those first four occasions, but when he has well grasped some given clue to concentration,¹ has well applied his understanding, has well thought it out, has well penetrated it by intuition *. . . . [243] This is the fifth occasion.

xxvi. Five thoughts by which emancipation² reaches maturity, to wit, the notion of impermanence, the notion of suffering in impermanence, the notion of no-soul in suffering, the notion of elimination, the notion of passionlessness.

These fivefold doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

VI.

2. There are sixfold doctrines, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they ?

i. Six fields of personal experience, to wit, sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and mind.

ii. Six external fields [of objects of experience], to wit, sights, sounds, smells, tastes, tangibles, phenomena.³

iii. Six groups of consciousness,⁴ to wit, visual, auditory, olfactory, sapid, tactual and perceptual-and-conceptual consciousness.⁵

iv. Six groups of contacts, to wit, visual and other sensory contact, and impact on the mind.

v. Six groups of feeling on occasion of sensory

¹ Samādhī nimittaṇ. On nimittaṇ see Points of Controversy, p. 387 f.

* Suppaṭṭividdhaṇ paññāya.

³ I.e., Arahantship. Comy.

⁴ Dhammā: the co-ordinated impressions of sense, and all mental objects.

⁵ Kāya. See above, p. 229, n. 3. ⁵ Mano-viññāṇaṇ.

stimulus, to wit, [244] the feeling that is excited when we see, hear, etc. or when we think.

vi. Six groups of perceptions, to wit, perception on occasion of sensory stimulus, or of ideas.

vii. Six groups of volitions, to wit, purposes on occasion of sensory stimulus, or of ideas.

viii. Six craving-groups, to wit, the five kinds of sense-objects, and phenomena.

ix. Six forms of irreverence. Herein, friends, a brother conducts himself irreverently and insolently to the Master, the Norm, the Order, the training, or to his studies, or lacks in reverence and respect toward the duties of courtesy.

x. Six forms of reverence. Herein, friends, a brother conducts himself in the opposite manner in the foregoing six cases.

xi. Six pleasurable investigations, to wit, when on occasion of any sensation through the five senses, or any cognition by the mind, a corresponding object giving rise to pleasure is examined.

[245] xii. Six disagreeable investigations, to wit, the contraries of the foregoing.

xiii. Six investigations of indifference, to wit, when such investigations as the foregoing leave anyone indifferent.

xiv. Six occasions of fraternal living.* Herein, friends, when a brother's kindly act towards his fellow-disciples has been attested, as wrought publicly and in private, that is an occasion of fraternity, causing affection and regard, and conducing to concord, absence of strife, harmony, union. The second and third occasions are those of kindly speech and kind thoughts. In the next place, when a brother who has honestly and righteously obtained gifts, distributes these impartially among his fellow-disciples and has everything in common with them, even to the contents of his alms-bowl, that is an occasion of fraternity, etc. Next, when the character and moral habits of a brother are

* Sārāpiyā dhammā.

without rupture or flaw, are consistently practised, unblemished, making a man free, commended by the wise, unperverted, and conducing to rapt concentration,¹ and he, so virtuous, [246] dwells openly and privately among his fellow-disciples, that is an occasion of fraternity, causing affection and regard, and conducing to concord, absence of strife, harmony, union. Lastly, when a brother lives with his religious life [guided by] that Ariyan, safe-guiding belief, which leads him who so lives to the perfect destruction of sorrow,—when he thus equipped lives among his fellow-disciples publicly and in private, that is an occasion of fraternity . . . like the foregoing.

xv. Six roots of contention. Herein, friends, take a brother who gets angry and cherishes rancour, and in this mood becomes irreverent and insolent toward the Master, the Norm, the Order, and does not accomplish the training. Such an one stirs up contention in the Order, and that contention is fraught with ill and misery for multitudes, with disadvantage, ill and sorrow for devas and men. If you, friends, should discern such a root of contention among yourselves or in other communities, then should ye strive to get just that evil root of contention eliminated. And if ye do not discern any such root, so work that it may not come to overwhelm you in the future. Such is the eliminating, such is the future averting of that evil root of contention. The other five roots of contention are (2) when a brother conceals others' good deeds,² and is hypocritical . . . (3) is envious and mean . . . (4) is deceitful and crafty . . . (5) is full of evil wishes and false opinions . . . [247] (6) is infatuated with his own opinion, clutching it tenaciously and is loth to renounce it.

xvi. Six elements, to wit, those of extension, cohesion, heat and mobility [in matter], space and consciousness.³

¹ See above 219, xiv, (4).

² So B. *paresaṃ guṇamakkhana*. . . .

³ The primary meaning of the first four is earth, water, fire,

xvii. Six elements tending to deliverance. Herein, friends, a brother might say: 'Lo! I have developed mental emancipation by love, [248] I have multiplied it, made it a vehicle, and a base. I have brought it out, accumulated and set it well going. Nevertheless malevolence persistently possesses my heart.' To him it should be said: 'Not so! Say not so, your reverence! Do not misrepresent the Exalted One! It is not well to calumniate the Exalted One! Surely he would not say this was so! This is a baseless and uncalled-for statement, friend. Things cannot be as you say. Emancipation of the heart through love, brother, this is how you become delivered from malevolence. In the same way a brother might wrongly complain that after cultivating emancipation of the heart through pity, he was still possessed by cruelty, or that after cultivating emancipation of the heart through sympathetic joy, or through equanimity, he was still possessed by disgust, and passion respectively. [249] Next, friends, a brother might say: 'Lo! I have developed mental emancipation from the power of any object to catch the fancy and incite lust,¹ I have multiplied that emancipation, made it a vehicle and a base, I have brought it out, accumulated and set it well going. Nevertheless my mind still pursues seductive objects. Or again he may say: 'Lo! the notion "I am" is offensive to me! I pay no heed to the notion "This 'I' exists!" Nevertheless doubts and queries and debating² still possess my mind.' To these answer should be made as before. He should be assured that such cannot really be the case; that it is by emancipating the heart through equanimity, or again, through the expulsion of the conceit of the

air. In Abhidhamma, the meaning is as stated. B. paraphrases by (1) *patitṭhā*, the more usual interpretation being *kakkhalla*, or hardness (v. B.P.E. 241, n. 1), (2) *ābandhanā*, or binding, (3) *paripācanā*, or maturing, (4) *vitthambanā*, or unstable, (5) *asamphuṭṭhā*, or intangible. Cf. p. 219, xvi.

¹ A cumbrous rendering of the elusive words *a-nimittā cetovimutti*. See above, p. 230, n. 1.

² *Sallāpam*.

existence of an 'I,' that he becomes delivered from lust, [250] and from doubts and queries and debates.

xviii. Six unsurpassable experiences, to wit, certain sights, certain things heard, certain gains, certain trainings, certain ministries, certain memories.

xix. Six matters for recollection, to wit, the Buddha, the Norm, the Order, the moral precepts, renunciation, the devas.¹

xx. Six chronic² states.² Herein, friends, a brother on occasion of any of the five kinds of sensation, as well as on that of any impression or idea, is neither delighted nor displeased, but remains equable, mindful and deliberate.

xxi. Six modes of heredity.³ Herein, friends, some persons being reborn in dark circumstances [251] lead dark lives, others so born lead bright lives, and others so born bring Nibbāna to pass, which is neither dark nor bright.⁴ Again, others born in bright circumstances lead bright lives, or dark lives, or bring Nibbāna to pass, which is neither dark nor bright.

xxii. Six ideas conducing to Nibbāna, to wit, the idea of impermanence, of ill in impermanence, of soullessness in ill, of elimination of passionlessness, of cessation.

These six triple doctrines, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

VII.

3. There are Sevens in the Doctrine, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who

¹ These, says B., are fully explained in the *Visuddhi Magga* P.T.S. ed. i., pp. 197-228.

² *Satata*. In his *Comy.* on A. II, 198, B. explains by *nicca*, *nibaddha*.

³ *Abhijātiyo*, explained as just *jātiyo*, which means equally birth and social status.

⁴ B. takes 'dark,' 'bright,' when applied to *birth* to mean 'obscure,' 'high born'; when applied to life and conduct, to mean 'demeritorious,' 'meritorious.' Nibbāna involves the transcendence of merit and demerit. Cf. *Kindred Sayings*, I, pp. 118-20; above, p. 221, xxix; 224, xlix.

knows, who sees. . . . Here should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they?

i. Seven treasures,¹ to wit, the treasure of faith, of morals, of conscientiousness, of discretion, of learning, of self-denial, of insight.

ii. Seven factors of enlightenment, to wit, the factor of mindfulness, [252] of study of doctrines, of energy, of zest, of serenity, of concentration, of equanimity.

iii. Seven requisites of concentration,² to wit, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness.

iv. Seven vicious qualities, to wit, want of faith, unconscientiousness, indiscretion, want of doctrinal knowledge, slackness, muddleheadedness, want of insight.

v. Seven virtuous qualities, to wit, the opposites of the foregoing.

vi. Seven qualities of the good, to wit, knowledge of the Dhamma, of the meaning [contained in its doctrines], knowledge of self, knowledge how to be temperate, how to choose and keep time, knowledge of groups of persons, and of individuals.

vii. Seven bases of Arahantship.³ Herein, friends, a brother is keenly desirous of entering the training, and longs to continue doing so. He feels similarly with regard to insight into the doctrine, to the suppression of hankerings, to [the need of] solitude, to evoking energy, to mindfulness and perspicacity, [258] to intuition of the truth.

viii. Seven perceptions, to wit, that of impermanence, of soullessness, of ugliness, of evil [in the world], of elimination, of passionlessness, of cessation.⁴

¹ The Burmese and Siamese printed editions read 'Ariyan Treasures' (*ariyadhanāni*).

² = Vol. II, p. 250.

³ *Niddesa* is here defined by B. as equivalent to Arahantship and to be a term borrowed from the Jains, applied by them to one who died within ten years (*nid-dasa vassakāle matam*)? of attaining saintship. Its ordinary meaning in commentarial Pali is exposition.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 263, viii.

ix. Seven powers, to wit, the power of faith, energy, conscientiousness, discretion, mindfulness, concentration, insight.¹

x. Seven stations of consciousness.² There are beings, brethren, who are diverse both in body and in mind, such as mankind, certain devas and some who have gone to an evil doom. This is the first station (or persistence) for [re-born] consciousness.³ Other beings are diverse of body, but uniform in mind, such as the devas of the Brahma-world, reborn there from [practice here of] first [Jhāna].

Others are uniform in body, diverse in intelligence, such as the Radiant Devas. Others are uniform both in body and in intelligence, such as the All-Lustrous Devas.⁴ Others there are who, by having passed wholly beyond all consciousness of matter, by the dying out of the consciousness of sense-reaction, by having turned the attention away from any consciousness of the manifold and become conscious only of 'space as infinite' are dwellers in the realm of infinite space. Others there are who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite space and become conscious only of consciousness as infinite are dwellers in the realm of infinite consciousness. Others there are who, having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite consciousness, and become conscious only that 'there is nothing whatever,' are dwellers in the realm of nothingness. Such are the remaining stations of consciousness.

xi. Seven [types of] persons worthy of offerings, to wit, the freed-both-ways, [254] the freed by insight, they who have bodily testimony, they who have won

¹ Cf. I, II, xxvi, and pp. 102, 127 of text.

² Cf. I, II, xviii; Vol. II, p. 66.

³ *Vīññāṇaṭṭhiti*, rendered resting-place of cognition in Vol. II, p. 66.

⁴ Two of the Rūpa spheres, 'above' that of the Brahmās, 'below' the Pure Abodes (cf. 5, xvii.). Cf. above, I, 30 f.; III, 26, 82. The last four are the Arūpa devas.

the view, they who are freed by confidence, the followers of wisdom, and the followers of confidence.¹

xii. Seven kinds of latent bias,² to wit, the bias of sensual passion, of enmity, of false opinion, of doubt, of conceit, of lust for rebirth, of ignorance.

xiii. Seven fetters, to wit, compliance, opposition, false opinion, doubt, conceit, lust for rebirth, ignorance.

xiv. Seven rules for the pacifying and suppression of disputed questions that have been raised,³ to wit, the proceeding face to face must be performed, the proceeding for the consciously innocent must be performed, the proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind must be performed, the proceeding on confession of guilt must be carried out, the proceeding by a majority of the Chapter, or the proceeding for the obstinate, or the proceeding by covering over as with grass.

These 'sevens in the Doctrine,' friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One . . . for the happiness of devas and men.

Here endeth the Second Portion for Recitation.

VIII.

3. 1. There are 'Eights in the Doctrine,' friends, [*similarly*] set forth. . . . Which are they?

i. Eight wrong factors of character and conduct,⁴ to wit, wrong views, intention,⁵ speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration.

¹ See above, p. 101.

² 'They continue sedent, in the sense of something not got rid of,' is B.'s definition of *anusaya*'s.

³ See Vin. Texts I, 68, where illustrative references are given in the Cullavagga (*ibid.*, Vol. III).

⁴ Lit. 'wrongnesses' and in (ii.) 'rightnesses' (the 'Ariyan Eightfold Path'), elsewhere called *maggā*, *kummaggā* (wrong path), *paṭipadā* and *paṭipatti*. Cf. S., V, 18, 23: Vibh. 373, etc., etc.

⁵ Sometimes rendered 'aspiration'; a synonym of *vitakka*. Application of the mind to an object or mental 'contriving' must be understood.

[255] ii. Eight right factors of character and conduct, to wit, right views, right intentions, etc. . . . right concentration.

iii. Eight types of persons worthy of offerings, to wit, one who has 'attained the stream' [or First Path]. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of stream-attainment. One who is a Once-returner. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of Once-returning. One who is a Never-returner. One who has worked for the realizing of the Fruit of Never-returning. One who is Arahant. One who has worked for the realizing of Arahantship.

iv. Eight bases of slackness. Herein, friends, (1) let a brother have some work to do. He thinks: 'There's that work I have to do, but the doing of it will tire me. Well then, I shall lie down.' He lies down; he stirs up no energy to finish that which is not done, to accomplish the unaccomplished, to realize the unrealized. (2) Or he has been working, and thinks: 'I have been working, and the doing of my work has tired me. Well then, I shall lie down.' He lies down . . . (*with the same results*). (3) Or he has to make a journey, and he thinks (as above) that it will tire him and lies down . . . (*with the same results*). (4) Or he has gone on his journey, and reflects (as in [2]) that he is tired and lies down. . . . (5) Or he tours about a village or township for alms and does not obtain his fill of poor or rich food, and thinks: 'I've gone about village, about township for alms [256] and have not obtained my fill of poor or rich food. This body of me is tired and good for naught. Well then, I'll lie down.' . . . (*with the same results*). (6) Or he tours about . . . for alms and does obtain his fill of poor or rich food and thinks: 'I've gone about . . . for alms and have obtained my fill of poor or rich food. This body of me is heavy and good for naught, seems to me like a load of soaked beans. Well then, I'll lie down' . . . (*with the same results*). (7) Or in him some slight ailment has arisen, and he thinks: In this state it is fit I lie down. . . . (8) Or he has recovered from illness, has

recently arisen from some indisposition. And he thinks his body is weak and good for naught and lies down, nor stirs up energy to finish that which is not done, to accomplish the unaccomplished, to realize the unrealized.

v. Eight bases of setting afoot an undertaking. Herein, brethren, (1) let a brother have some work to do. He thinks: 'There is that work I have to do, but in doing it, I shall not find it easy to attend to the religion of the Buddhas. Well then, I will stir up energy to finish that which is not done, to accomplish the unaccomplished, to realize the unrealized.' (2) Or he has [257] done a task, and thinks: 'I have been working, but I could not attend to the religion of the Buddhas. Well then, I will stir up energy . . . to realize the unrealized.' (3) Or he has to go on a journey, and thinks it will not be easy for him, on his way, to attend to the religion of the Buddhas, and resolves as above. (4) Or he has been on a journey, but has not been able to attend . . . and resolves. . . . (5) Or he has toured about village or township for alms and has not obtained his fill of poor or rich food. And he thinks that, under the circumstances, his body is light and fit for work. So he stirs up energy . . . to realize the unrealized. (6) Or he has toured and has obtained his fill and thinks that, under the circumstances, his body is strong and fit to work and proceeds as above. (7) Or in him some slight ailment has arisen. And he thinks it is possible that the ailment may grow worse, so that he must stir up energy, etc. [258] (8) Or he has recovered from illness, has recently arisen from some indisposition. And he thinks: I have recovered from illness, I have recently arisen from my indisposition. It is possible that the illness may recur. Well then, I will stir up energy . . . to realize the unrealizable.

vi. Eight bases of giving gifts:—One gives (1) because [an object of hospitality] has approached; (2) from fear;¹ (3) because 'he gave to me'; (4) because

¹ Either from fear of blame, or of future retribution. Comy.

'he will give to me'; (5) because one thinks 'giving is blessed'; (6) because one thinks 'I cook; these do not cook; it is not fit that I who cook should give nothing to those who do not cook'; (7) because one thinks: 'from the giving of this gift by me an excellent report will spread abroad'; (8) because one wishes to adorn and equip one's heart.¹

vii. Eight rebirths due to giving gifts. Herein, friends, (1) a certain person gives a gift to a recluse or brahmin in the shape of food, drink, raiment, vehicle, wreaths, perfumes and ointments, bedding, dwelling and lights. That which he gives, he hopes to receive in his turn. He sees a wealthy noble or brahmin or householder surrounded and attended by, and enjoying the five forms of sensuous pleasures. And he thinks: 'Ah! if only I may be reborn at the dissolution of the body after death as one amongst wealthy nobles, or brahmins, or householders!' This thought he holds fixed, firmly established, and expands it. This thought set free in a lower range, and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range. [259] And this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious. The mental aspiration, friends, of a moral person succeeds because of its purity.²

(2) Another person giving similar gifts, and similarly hoping, may have learnt thus: 'Devas in the realm of the four kings of the firmament³ are long-lived, splendid in appearance and lead a blissful existence.' He aspires to be reborn among them, and holds the thought fixed. . . . This . . . conduces to rebirth within that [lower] range. And this, I affirm, only in the case of a moral person. . . . The mental aspiration, brethren, of a moral person⁴ succeeds because of its purity.

¹ Namely, in studying for calm and insight, forgiving softens the heart in both donor and recipient. Comy.

² I.e., its being unmixed, single-minded.

³ Cf. preceding Suttanta passim.

⁴ Omitted in the text.

(3-7) Or one so giving may have learnt similar lore about other heavens:—the Three-and-Thirty gods, the Yāma, the Tusita, the Nimmānarati, the Paranimmita-vasavatti gods, or (8) about the gods of the Brahma world he may have learnt in similar terms. He thinks: 'Ah! would that after death I might be reborn as one among them!' That thought he holds fixed, that thought he firmly establishes, that thought he expands. That thought set free in a lower range,¹ and not expanded to anything higher, conduces to rebirth within that range. And this, [260] I affirm, only in the case of a moral person, not of one who is vicious, in the case of one who has got rid of the passions, not of one still beset by them. The mental aspiration, friends, of a moral person succeeds because it is void of lustful passion.²

viii. Eight assemblies, to wit, those of nobles, brahmins, householders, religious orders, four-king devas, Three-and-Thirty devas, Māra devas and Brahma devas.³

ix. Eight matters of worldly concern, to wit, gains and losses, fame and obscurity, blame and praise, pleasures and pains.

x. Eight positions of mastery.⁴ (1) When anyone pictures to himself some material feature of his person

¹ All rebirth in other worlds, from the Nibbāna or Arahant point of view, was low in range. But the Brahma world was also lowest in the Rūpa heavens. Only in the upper Rūpa worlds could Parinibbāna be obtained, when not accomplished on earth.

² Got rid of, remarks B., either by the Paths or by the Attainments (Jhāna). Charitable giving alone cannot secure rebirth in Brahma world. But as an adornment to the mind studying calm and insight, they make thought tender, and then, exercise in the Brahma-vihāra emotions (I, 317, f., § 76) can lead to such a rebirth.

³ There is no comment on the absence of parisā's in other worlds. Presumably it is because no such assemblies are recorded in the Suttas, nor mention of any hierarchy or government, as e.g., in Dial. I, 281; II, 242 f., 293 (21), etc.

⁴ See II, 118. The 'positions' refer to induction of the Jhāna consciousness. Cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., §§ 204-246; Expositor, ch. xi.

and sees [corresponding] features in others, lovely or ugly, as small, transcending this [object] he is aware of doing so, [thinks] 'I know, I see.' (2) Or when he has the same experience, but sees those features not as small, but as infinitely great, and nevertheless transcending this [object], and is aware of doing so, [thinks]: 'I know, I see!' (3, 4) Or when he sees the features in others similarly and transcends the consciousness of them, without first picturing any material feature of his own. . . . (5) Or when without the personal preliminary, he sees external shapes of indigo, [261] indigo in colour, indigo in visible expanse, indigo in lustre, as is the ummā flower, or a Benares muslin delicately finished on both sides . . . (6) or shapes of yellow . . . as is the kaṇikāra flower, or Benares muslin . . . (7) or shapes of red . . . as is the bandhujīvaka flower, or Benares muslin . . . (8) or shapes of white . . . as is the morning star, or Benares muslin . . . transcends this [object] and is aware of doing so, [thinks]: 'I know, I see!'

xi. Eight deliverances,¹ to wit, (1) he, picturing any material feature of himself, sees such material features [as they really are]. (2) Not picturing any such, [262] he sees material features external to his own. (3) He decides that it is beautiful.² (4) By passing wholly beyond all consciousness of material qualities, by the dying out of the awareness of sensory reaction, by the unheeding of any awareness of difference, he enters into and abides in that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of infinite space. (5) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere of consciousness, he enters into and abides in that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of the infinitude of consciousness itself. (6) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere of consciousness, he enters into and abides in that rapt

¹ Or releases, or emancipations (cf. Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 63), or 'stages' of the same (Dial. II, 119). These are also jhāna-incidents. Cf. above, p. 216, vii.

² Namely, the kaṣiṇa, or abstracted bare colour or lustre in the object selected, wherewith to induce self-hypnosis.

ecstasy which regards consciousness itself as nothing whatever, a sphere of nothingness. (7) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere, he enters into and abides in that rapt consciousness which neither is, nor yet is not to be called conscious. (8) By passing wholly beyond such a sphere, he enters into and abides in a state of unconsciousness, wherein awareness and feeling cease.

These Eights in the Doctrine, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. . . . Herein should there be chanting by all in concord. . . .

IX.

2. There are Nines in the Doctrine, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Herein should there be chanting in concord by all, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men. Which are they?

i. Nine bases of quarrelling, thus:—quarrelling is stirred up* at the thought: 'he has done me an injury,' or 'he is doing me an injury,' or 'he will do me an injury,' or 'he has done, is doing, will do an injury to one I love,' or 'he has bestowed a benefit, is bestowing, will bestow a benefit on one I dislike.'

ii. Nine suppressions of quarrelling, thus:—quarrelling is suppressed by the thought: 'He has done, [263] is doing, will do me an injury, or one I love an injury, or he has bestowed, is bestowing, will bestow a benefit on one I dislike, true.' But what gain would there be to either of us if I quarrelled about it?¹

iii. Nine spheres inhabited by beings. *The first four are described in terms verbatim of the first four stations of consciousness [2, 3, x.].* (5) There are beings without perception or feeling. These live in

* Āghātaṃ bandhati.

¹ So Comy. Cf. Vis. Magga, p. 297 f.

the sphere of the 'unconscious devas.'¹ (6) There are beings who having passed wholly beyond awareness of material qualities, by the dying out of sensory reaction, by unheeding the awareness of difference, have attained to the sphere of infinite space with a consciousness thereof. (7-9) Similarly other beings have attained to the sphere of infinite consciousness, of nothingness, of neither consciousness nor yet unconsciousness.²

iv. Nine untimely unseasonable intervals for life in a religious order. [264] (1) A Tathāgata, friends, is born into the world, Arahant Buddha Supreme. The Norm is taught, quenching [the passions], extinguishing [the passions],³ leading to enlightenment, declared by the Well-Farer. And this person is reborn at that time in purgatory . . . (2) or in the animal kingdom . . . (3) or among the Petas . . . (4) or Asuras . . . (5) or in some longlived deva community . . . (6) or he is reborn in the border countries among unintelligent barbarians, where there is no opening for members of the Order or lay-brethren . . . (7) or he is reborn in the middle countries, but he holds wrong opinions and has perverted vision, holding that gifts,⁴ offerings, oblations are as naught, for there is no fruit nor result of deeds well or ill done; [265] there are no parents nor birth without them; there are no recluses or brahmins in the world who have attained the highest, leading perfect lives, and who, having known and realized each for himself the truth as to this and the next world, do reveal it. (8) Or though reborn at the time in the Middle countries, he is stupid, dull, or deaf and dumb, unable to know whether a matter has been well said or ill said. (9) Or finally, friends, a Tathāgata has not arisen in the world as Arahant Buddha Supreme, the

¹ Assuming as the Buddhist does, that in Jhāna ecstasy, terrestrial consciousness was exchanged for other-world consciousness, he was logically driven to assume also a *source* for the abnormal state of mind supervening in complete trance.

² As above 3, I, xi.

³ Kilesā. So B.

See above, II, 73.

Norm is not taught . . . as revealed by the Well-Farer ; and this person is [in that interval] reborn in the Middle country, is intelligent, bright of wit, not deaf-mute, able to know whether a matter has been well said or ill said. This is the ninth untimely, unseasonable period for living in a religious order.

v. Nine successional states, to wit, the Four Jhānas [of Rūpa-world consciousness], the Four Jhānas of Arūpa-world consciousness, [266], and complete trance.¹

vi. Nine successional cessations, thus:—Taking each of the foregoing nine in order, by the attainment of (1) First Jhāna, sensuous perceptions cease, (2) Second Jhāna, applied and sustained thought ceases, (3) Third Jhāna, zest ceases, (4) Fourth Jhāna, respiration ceases, (5) by the perception of infinite space, perception of material things ceases, (6) by the perception of infinite consciousness, perception of infinite space ceases, (7) by the perception of nothingness, perception of infinite consciousness ceases, (8) by the perception that is neither conscious nor yet unconscious, perception of nothingness ceases, (9) by the cessation of perception and feeling, perception that is neither conscious nor yet unconscious ceases.

These Nines in the Doctrine, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One, etc. . . . Herein should there be chanting by all in concord. . . .

X.

3. There are Tens in the Doctrine, friends, which have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One who knows, who sees. Here should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling . . . for the happiness of devas and men Which are the tens ?

i. Ten doctrines conferring protection.² (1) Herein,

¹ Cf. above 1, 11, iv., and 3, 1, xi. (4-8).

² Lit. protector-making. For (1), cf. Dial. 1, 317. 'Self-control prescribed,' etc., is *pātimokkha-saṃvara*.

friends, a brother is virtuous, lives self-controlled according to the self-control prescribed in the Vinaya, he has entered on a proper range of conduct, he sees danger in the least of the things he should avoid, he adopts and trains himself in the precepts. [267] (2) He learns much, and remembers and stores up what he has learnt. Those doctrines which, excellent at the start, in the middle, at the end, in the letter and in their contents, declare the absolutely perfect and pure religious life, these he learns to a great extent, bears them in mind, treasures them by repetition, ponders them in mind, penetrates them by intuition.¹ (3) He is a friend, an associate, an intimate of men of good character. (4) He is affable, endowed with gentleness and humility; he is patient and receives admonition with deference. (5) Where there are duties to be done for the seniors among his fellow-disciples, he therein is industrious, not slothful, and exercises forethought in methods for discharging them, is capable of accomplishing, capable of organizing. (6) And furthermore, friends, he loves the doctrine, the utterance of it is dear to him,^{1a} he finds exceeding joy in the advanced teaching of both Doctrine and Discipline.² [268] (7) Furthermore, friends, he is content with necessities of any quality, whether it be raiment, alms, lodging, drugs and provision against sickness. (8) Furthermore, friends, he is continually stirring up effort to eliminate bad qualities, evoke good qualities, making dogged and vigorous progress in good things, never throwing off the burden. (9) Furthermore, friends, he is mindful,

¹ See Vin. Texts III, 50, on these qualifications for a bhikkhu jurymen, and the footnote.

^{1a} *Piya-samudāhāro*, concerning which term Childers was doubtful, is thus expanded by B.: 'he listens intently (*sakkaccaṃ*) when another discourses and longs to teach others.' Cf. Mil. II, 237.

² *Abhidhamme Abhivinaye*. B., by alternative exegeses, shows these terms are used vaguely. The former may mean the third Piṭake(?), or the doctrine of the Paths and Fruits. The latter may mean the *Khandhaka-Parivāra*, or the end of the Vinaya—self-mastery. Cf. *Sumangala Vilāsini* I, 18.

and possessed of supreme lucidity and perspicacity in following mentally and recollecting deeds and words long past. (10) Furthermore, friends, he is intelligent, endowed with insight into the rise and passing away [of things], insight which is of that Ariyan penetration which leads to the complete destruction of pain.

ii. Ten objects for self-hypnosis.¹ These, perceived severally as above, below or across, and as homogeneous, and without limits, are a piece of earth [extended matter], water, fire, air, indigo, yellow, red, white, space, consciousness.²

[269] iii. Ten bad channels of action, to wit, taking life, theft, in chastity, lying, abuse, slander, idle talk, covetousness, malevolence, wrong views.

iv. Ten good channels of action, to wit, abstention from all the foregoing.

v. Ten Ariyan methods of living. Herein, friends, a brother has got rid of five factors, is possessed of six factors, has set the one guard, carries out the four bases of observance,³ has put away sectarian opinions, has utterly given up quests, is candid in his thoughts, has calmed the restlessness of his body, and is well emancipated in heart and intellect.

(1) What five factors has he got rid of? Sensuality, malevolence, sloth and torpor, excitement and worry, doubt.⁴

(2) What six factors is he possessed of? The six 'chronic states.' (See p. 234.)

(3) How has he set the one guard? By the mental guard of mindfulness.

¹ *Kasīṇa*, 'in the sense of *entire* (*sakala*).¹ Comy. Cf. Bud. Ps. Eth., pp. 43 f., n. 4; 57 f., n. 2.

² On the varying number of these 'objects' in Buddhist literature see B.P.E., p. 57, n. 2. Buddhaghosa also comments thereon in *The Expositor*, p. 249 f., but not here, nor in the *Visuddhi-magga*, though he refers to fuller treatment there. There he drops the 'consciousness' object altogether, substituting *āloka*, or brightness. He identifies the former with the second of the Eight Deliverances (or second *Arūpa-jhāna*). See above.

³ Cf. above, 216, viii.

⁴ *Kindred Sayings I*, 124.

[270] (4) What are the four bases of observance? Herein a brother judges that something is to be (1) habitually pursued, (2) endured, (3) avoided, (4) suppressed.

(5) How does he become 'one who has put away sectarian opinions?'¹ All those many opinions of the mass of recluses and brahmins which are held by individuals as dogmas :—all these he has dismissed, put away, given up, ejected, let go, eliminated, abandoned.

(6) How is he one whose questing is utterly given up? He has eliminated the questing after worldly desires, the questing for rebirth, the questing for religious life.²

(7) How is he candid in his thoughts? He has eliminated occupying his mind with sensual or malicious or cruel ideas.

(8) How does he tranquillize the activity of the body? Because of eliminating the being affected pleasurable or painfully, because of the dying out of previous impressions as joyful or sorrowful, he attains to and abides in a state of neutral feeling, of very pure indifference and mental lucidity, namely, the state called Fourth Jhāna.

(9) How does he become well emancipated in heart?³ He becomes emancipated in heart from passion, hate, and illusion.

(10) How does he become well emancipated in intellect?³ He understands his emancipated condition, namely, in the thought: Passion . . . hate . . . illusion for me are eliminated, cut off at the root, become as a palmtree stump, become non-existent, unable to grow again in future.⁴

¹ A curious use of *saccā* (fact or truth). 'This view, that view is true! Thus *pāṭiyekkam gaṇhitāni* . . .' Comy.

² Cf. above, p. 209, xxii.

³ The distinctive replies given in the case of *citta* and *paññā* should be noted.

⁴ This No. v., which is a Sutta in the Anguttara (v., 29), is presumably the Ariya-vasāni, one of the five Dhamma-teachings recommended for study in Asoka's Bhabra edict. Cf. Rh. Davids, *Buddhist India*, 169.

[271] vi. Ten qualities belonging to the adept, to wit, the right (or perfect) views, intentions, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration, insight and emancipation as held by adepts.¹

These Tens in the Doctrine, friends, have been perfectly set forth by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees. Here should there be chanting by all in concord, not wrangling, in order that the holy life may live and be long established. Thus will it be for the welfare, for the happiness of multitudes, a kindness to the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of devas and men.

4. Now when the Exalted One had arisen he addressed the venerable Sāriputta, saying : ' Excellent, Sāriputta, excellent ! Excellently, Sāriputta, have you uttered the scheme of chanting together² for the brethren.'

These things were spoken by the venerable Sāriputta. The Master signified his assent. The brethren were pleased and delighted with the venerable Sāriputta's discourse.

Here endeth the Suttanta of the
Chanting in Concord.

¹ That is, these factors in their case are 'connected with fruition.' The 'views' and 'insight' are understanding (or intellect, *paññā*) exercised on two sorts of occasion (*ṭhāṇa*). To avoid multiplying footnotes, references have not been given to all the parallels in the other Nikāyas, of the foregoing summarized doctrines. References, especially to one Nikāya, the Anguttara, will be found in Dr. J. E. Carpenter's edition of the text.

² *Sangitipariyāyan ti sāmaggikāraṇaṃ.* Comy.

[272] XXXIV. DASUTTARA SUTTANTA.

THE TENFOLD SERIES.¹

THUS have I heard :

1. 1. The Exalted One was once staying at Campā,² on the banks of Lake Gaggarā, with a great company of the brethren, about five hundred in number. There the venerable Sāriputta addressed them, saying, 'Friends, brethren!' 'Yes, friend,' responded the brethren. And the venerable Sāriputta spake thus :—

In groups from one to ten will I declare
The Norm, that so ye may Nibbāna win,
That ye may make an end of ill and pain,
That ye may be from every bond set free.

I

2. There is One thing,³ friends, that helpeth much, One thing that is to be developed, One that is to be understood, One that is to be eliminated, One that belongs to disaster, One that leads to distinction, One that is hard to penetrate, One that is to be brought to pass, One that is to be thoroughly learnt, One that is to be realized.

i. *Which One thing helpeth much?* Zeal in things that are good.

ii. *Which One thing is to be developed?*⁴ Mindfulness with respect to the bodily factors, accompanied by pleasurable feeling.

iii. *Which One thing is to be understood?* Contact as a condition of intoxicants (Āsavas) and of grasping.

¹ This is not a literal rendering. Plus-up-to-ten is a little nearer, but uncouth. So we have not tried to be literal.

² Pronounced Champā.

³ Dhamma. Anything as presented to the mind is a dhamma. We have no parallel word.

⁴ Or 'made to grow' (vaḍḍhetabbo = bhāvetabbo).

[273] iv. *Which One thing is to be eliminated?* The conceit: 'I am.'¹

v. *Which One thing belongs to decline?* Disorderly² thinking.

vi. *Which One thing leads to distinction?* Orderly thinking.

vii. *Which One thing is hard to penetrate?* Immediacy of succession in mental concentration.³

viii. *Which One thing is to be brought to pass?* Sure and unshakeable knowledge.⁴

ix. *Which One thing is to be thoroughly learnt?* All beings are maintained by causes.⁵

x. *Which One thing is to be realized?* Sure and unshakeable emancipation of mind.

Now these ten things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.⁶

II.

3. There are Two things, friends, that help much, Two that are to be developed, etc. . . . Two that are to be realized.

i. *Which Two help much?* Mindfulness and deliberation.

ii. *Which Two are to be developed?* Calm and insight.

iii. *Which Two are to be understood?* Mind and body.⁷

¹ Rūpādīsu. Comy.

² Ayoniso. I.e., taking the changing as permanent, etc. Comy.

³ Of Path, as result, after insight. Comy.

⁴ I.e., to understand when reflecting on fruition gained. This was an attribute of Emancipation (Vin. Texts, i., 97, § 29, Majjhima I. 167, etc.) and Nibbāna. See (x).

⁵ See above, p. 204.

⁶ Namely, 'under the bo-tree.' Comy. Hence, according to B., Tathāgata here means clearly a Buddha, and not any Arahant.

⁷ See above, p. 205. B. passes over this answer. Element (dhātū) has here somewhat the meaning of conditions of being, e.g., water to a fish, not any one factor in such.

[274] iv. *Which Two are to be eliminated?* Ignorance and the craving for rebirth.

v. *Which Two belong to decline?* Contumacy and friendship with evil.

vi. *Which Two lead to distinction?* Suavity and friendship with good.

vii. *Which Two are hard to penetrate?* That which is the condition, the cause of the corruption of beings, and that which is the condition, the cause of their purification.

viii. *Which Two are to be brought to pass?* Insight into extinction, and insight into not coming to be.

ix. *Which Two are to be thoroughly learnt?* Two elements, to wit, the Conditioned and the Unconditioned.¹

x. *Which Two are to be realized?* Supernormal knowledge² and emancipation.

Now these Twofold things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, and perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

III.

4. There are Three Things which help much, etc.
... which are to be realized.

i. *Three³ . . . which help much:*—intercourse with noble-minded persons, hearing the good Doctrine, progress in doctrine and minor doctrines.

ii. *Three . . . which are to be developed:*—the three modes of concentrative thought, to wit, mental application followed by sustained thought, sustained thought without mental application, concentrative thought without either.

¹ 'Made by causes, the five aggregates; not so made, Nibbāna.' Comy.

² 'Vijjā here means the threefold lore' (an annexed Brahmanic term). Comy. Cf. above, p. 214, lviii. ff., and below, x.

³ The ten questions are to be read as repeated here and below.

[275] iii. *Three . . . which are to be understood*:—three modes of feeling, to wit, pleasurable, painful, and neutral feeling.

iv. *Three . . . which are to be eliminated*:—three cravings, to wit, sensual, worldly craving, craving for rebirth, craving to end life.¹

v. *Three . . . which belong to decline*:—three roots of demerit, to wit, greed, hate, illusion.

vi. *Three . . . which lead to distinction*:—three roots of merit, to wit, disinterestedness, love, intelligence.

vii. *Three . . . which are hard to penetrate*:—three elements of deliverance, to wit, renunciation:—this is the escape from all worldly desires; the immaterial:—this is the escape from material things; but whatever has become, is conditioned, has arisen from a cause:—the escape from that is cessation.²

viii. *Three . . . which are to be brought to pass*:—three knowledges, to wit, as to the past, the future and the present.

ix. *Three . . . which are to be thoroughly learnt*:—three elements, to wit, the element³ of sensuous desires, of Rūpa, of Arūpa.⁴

x. *Three . . . which are to be realized*:—three branches of wisdom,⁵ to wit, intuition of former births, intuition of the deceases and rebirths of beings, intuition of the extinction of 'intoxicants.'

[276] Now these Three Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

¹ Lit. becoming-craving and contra-becoming craving. Cf. above 1, 10, xvi.

² B.'s comments are purely exegetical. He calls the three escapes the Path of the Non-returner, the Path, and the Fruit of Arahantship respectively.

³ I.e., conditions. See above 2, ix.

⁴ I.e., the three spheres of existence, described in Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 334.

⁵ In text *verbatim*, as on p. 214, lviii. See the six, p. 257 f.

IV.

5. There are Four Things, friends, that help much, that are to be developed . . . that are to be realized.

i. *Four . . . that help much*:—four 'wheels,'¹ to wit, the orbit of a favourable place of residence, the orbit of association with the good, perfect adjustment of one's self, the cycle of merit wrought in the past.

ii. *Four . . . to be developed*:—the Four Applications of Mindfulness,² to wit:—Herein, friends, a brother as to the body, feelings, thought, and ideas, continues so to look upon [each of these four groups], that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, and can suppress both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

iii. *Four . . . to be understood*:—the Four Nutriments,³ to wit, solid nutriment, gross or subtle; contact as second, the purposes of the mind as third, [rebirth-] consciousness as fourth.

iv. *Four . . . to be eliminated*:—the Four Floods of sensuous desires, re-becoming, erroneous opinions, ignorance.

v. *Four . . . belong to decline*:—the Four Bonds . . . (similar to iv.).

vi. *Four . . . lead to distinction*:—the Four Detachments, to wit, detachment from each of the four Attachments or Bonds (v.).

[277] vii. *Four . . . are hard to penetrate*:—the Four Concentrations, to wit, that leading to decline, that leading to maintenance, that leading to distinction, that leading to Nibbāna.

viii. *Four . . . to be brought to pass*:—the Four knowledges,⁴ to wit, knowledge of the Doctrine, know-

¹ Cakkāni, says B., are of five kinds: wheels of wood, as in a carriage; circlets of gems; the [symbolic] wheel of Dhamma (righteousness or law); the fourfold range of postures (standing, walking, sitting, lying); the vehicles or means of success (saṃpatti), as here.

² Cf. Vol. II. p. 327 f.; above, p. 214 (i.).

³ Cf. p. 219 (xvii.).

⁴ Cf. above, p. 218 (xi.).

ledge of its corollaries, knowledge of what is in another's consciousness and popular knowledge.

ix. *Four . . . to be thoroughly learnt*:—the Four Ariyan Truths,¹ to wit, the Ariyan Truth as to Ill, and the Ariyan Truths as to the Genesis of Ill, the Cessation of Ill, the Path leading to the Cessation of Ill.

x. *Four . . . to be realized*:—the Four Fruits of the Recluse's Life, to wit, the Fruit of each Path:—that of the Stream-winning, of Once-Returning, of Never-Returning, of Arahantship.

Now these Four Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

V.

6. There are Five Things that help much, . . . that must be realized.

i. *Five . . . that help much*:—five factors in spiritual wrestling . . . confidence (or faith), good health, honesty, energy, insight.²

ii. *Five . . . to be developed*:—the five factors of perfect concentration, to wit, suffusion of rapture, suffusion of easeful bliss, suffusion [278] of [telepathic] consciousness, suffusion of light, and images for retrospective thought.³

iii. *Five . . . to be understood*:—the five aggregates of grasping, to wit, material qualities, feeling, perception, volitional and other complexes, consciousness.

iv. *Five . . . to be eliminated*:—the Five Hindrances, to wit, sensuality, malevolence, sloth and torpor, excitement and worry, doubt.

¹ *Saccāni* (sat-yāni), lit. things that are. Truths is the more subjective counterpart, although the word may be objectively used.

² As detailed on p. 226.

³ The first and second are the expression of insight in the first two and first three *Jhānas* respectively. The third expresses telepathic (thought-reading) insight. The fourth expresses the insight of the 'heavenly eye' (clairvoyance). The fifth is insight on emerging from ecstasy.

v. *Five . . . belonging to decline*:—the five spiritual barrennesses, to wit, doubt, in the Master, etc., mutual discord.¹

vi. *Five . . . belonging to distinction*:—the five spiritual faculties, to wit, faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, insight.

vii. *Five . . . hard to penetrate*:—the five elements favourable to deliverance, to wit, detachment from sensuous desires, ill will, cruelty, external objects and individuality.²

viii. *Five . . . to be brought to pass*:—the fivefold intuition of perfect concentration,³ to wit:—As a personal experience the intuition arises that (1) 'this rapture is both a present happiness and a future result of happiness;' (2) 'this rapture is Ariyan, is unworldly;' (3) [279] 'this rapture is not a pursuit of any but the noblest men;' (4) 'this rapture is good, excellent, has won tranquillization, has attained to mental uplift and concentration,⁵ and is not instigated nor opposed nor foiled;' (5) 'this rapture I myself with mental clarity attain, and from it with mental clarity emerge.'

ix. *Five . . . to be thoroughly learnt*:—the five occasions of emancipation . . . (as on p. 229, xxv.).

x. *Five . . . to be realized*:—the five bodics of doctrine, to wit, morals, concentrative exercise, insight, emancipation, knowledge and insight requisite for emancipation.⁷

Now these Five Things are genuine, true, thus, not

¹ As in p. 227.

² Detailed as on p. 228 (xxiv.).

³ Samādhi (includes all the stages preliminary to ecstasy). Cf. ii.

⁴ Akapuriso, 'to wit Buddhas, supermen, etc.'

⁵ Of this phrase ekodibhāvaḍḍhigato B. remarks: 'because the rapture has been attained by mental uplift, etc., or because of mental uplift, etc., having been attained.'

⁶ On sasanikhāra see Bud. Psy. Eth., p. 34, n. 1. Of vāritavato the readings in MSS. of the Comy. vary as much as those in the text. The only comment is paccanikadhamme gatattā.

⁷ Cf. the four on p. 221.

otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

VI.

7. There are Six Things that help much, that are to be developed . . . realized.

i. *Six . . . that help much*:—the six occasions of fraternal living . . . [280] (*detailed as on p. 231*).

ii. *Six . . . to be developed*:—The six matters for recollection . . . (*detailed as on p. 234*).

iii. *Six . . . to be understood*:—the six (organs of sense or) fields of personal experience . . . (*detailed as on p. 230, i.*).

iv. *Six . . . to be eliminated*:—the six groups of cravings . . . (*detailed as on p. 231*).

v. *Six . . . belong to decline*:—the six forms of irreverence . . . (*detailed ibid. ix.*).

vi. *Six . . . belong to distinction*:—the six forms of reverence . . . (*detailed ibid.*).

vii. *Six . . . hard to penetrate*:—the six elements tending to deliverance . . . (*detailed as on p. 233*).

[281] viii. *Six . . . to be brought to pass*:—the six chronic states . . . (*detailed as on p. 234*).

ix. *Six . . . to be thoroughly learnt*:—the six unsurpassable experiences:—(*detailed ibid.*).

x. *Six . . . to be realized*:—the six superknowledges. Herein, friends, a brother (1) enjoys the wondrous gift¹ in its various modes:—being one, he becomes many . . . he becomes . . . invisible; he goes without obstruction through a wall . . . solid ground . . . on water . . . in the sky . . . he reaches with the body up to the heaven of Brahmā; (2) by deva-hearing, purified, surpassing that of men, he hears sounds both heavenly and human, far and near; (3) by his mind he understands the minds of other beings, other persons; he discerns the passionate mind as passionate . . . the freed mind as freed, the unfree mind as unfree; (4) he recalls to mind the various temporary

¹ *Iddhi* (Vol. I, 88 f.; cf. above, p. 253, x.).

states as he lived in days gone by, namely, one birth, or more . . . in all their details and their modes ; (5) with the deva-sight, purified, surpassing that of men, he discerns the pageant of beings faring according to their deeds ; (6) he lives in the attainment, the personal knowledge and realization, through the extinction of the intoxicants, of sane and immune freedom of heart and mind.

Now these Six Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

VII.

[282] 8. There are Seven Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Seven . . . that help much* :—the seven treasures, to wit :—faith . . . insight . . . (as detailed on p. 235).

ii. *Seven . . . to be developed* :—the seven factors of enlightenment, to wit, mindfulness . . . equanimity . . . (as detailed *ibid.*).

iii. *Seven . . . to be understood* :—the seven stations of consciousness :—(1) there are beings, brethren, who are diverse both in body and in mind . . . (as detailed on p. 236).

iv. *Seven . . . to be eliminated* :—the seven forms of latent bias, to wit, the bias of sensual passion . . . of ignorance (as detailed on p. 237).

v. *Seven . . . belonging to decline* :—the seven vicious qualities, to wit, want of faith . . . of insight (as detailed on p. 235).

vi. *Seven . . . belonging to increase* :—the seven virtuous qualities, to wit, the opposites of the foregoing.

[288] vii. *Seven . . . hard to penetrate* :—the seven qualities of the good, to wit, knowledge of the doctrine . . . of individuals (as detailed *ibid.*).

viii. *Seven . . . to be brought to pass* :—the seven perceptions, to wit, that of impermanence . . . of cessation (as detailed *ibid.*).

ix. *Seven . . . to be thoroughly understood* :—the

seven bases of arahantship. Herein, friends, a brother is keenly desirous of entering the training (*as detailed ibid.*).

x. *Seven to be realized*:—the seven powers of the Arahant. Herein, friends, for a brother who is Arahant (1) the impermanence of all conditioned things is well seen as it really is by perfect insight. This is one of his powers, on account of which he recognizes that for him the 'Intoxicants' are destroyed. (2) That sensuous worldly desires are like coals of fire¹ is well seen as it really is etc. . . . (as above) destroyed. (3) His heart is inclined to, set upon detachment; he has made detachment its mountain-cave, its object; his heart loves renunciation, and has become entirely non-existent for all opportunities of incoming intoxicants. This is one, etc. . . . (4) the four applications of mindfulness have been developed and well developed. [284] This, etc. . . . (5) so also for the five spiritual faculties, (6) the seven factors of enlightenment, (7) the Ariyan Eightfold Path. In that this and those have been developed and well developed, these are powers of the Arahant brother, on account of which he recognizes that for him the 'Intoxicants' are destroyed.

Now these Seven Things are genuine, true, . . . perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

Here endeth the first Portion for Recitation.

VIII.

2. 1. There are Eight Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Eight that help much*:—the eight conditions, the eight causes which conduce to attaining that wisdom in those fundamentals of religious life which have not been attained, to multiplying, expanding, developing,

¹ Kā mā here are both the objects of desire, desires objectified, lit. object-desires (*vatthukāmā*), and the modes of desire, or passions (*kilesakāmā*). 'Coals of fire,' i.e., feverish states. Cf. Majjhima I, 130; Anguttara IV, 224; Jātaka IV, 118.

perfecting those that have been attained. Herein, friends, (1) one dwells near the Master, or near a fellow-disciple occupying the place of teacher, whereby he is strongly established in conscientiousness, prudence, love, and respect. [285] (2) Under such circumstances he approaches his teachers from time to time and asks and considers, saying: 'Lord, how is this? What does this mean?' And to him those reverend ones reveal what is hidden, make plain what is obscure, and dispel any doubts in perplexing matters. (3) When he has heard their doctrine, he succeeds in obtaining a double serenity,¹ that of body and of mind. (4) Moreover, friends, a brother, virtuous, habitually self-restrained with the self-restraint of the Canon law, proficient in behaviour and propriety,² seeing danger in the smallest offence, undertakes to train himself in the stages of the training. This is the fourth. . . . (5) Moreover, friends, a brother having learnt much, bears what he has heard in mind and stores it up. And whatever doctrines, lovely in the beginning, in the middle, at the end, both in the letter and in the spirit, commend a religious life that is absolutely fulfilled and made quite pure, those doctrines are by such a brother much learnt, remembered, treasured by repetition, pondered in mind, well penetrated by intuition.³ This is the fifth. . . . (6) Moreover, friends, a brother is habitually stirring up energy for the elimination of bad qualities, the evoking of good qualities, indomitable, strongly progressing and never shirking with respect to what is good. This is the sixth. . . . [286] (7) Moreover, friends, he is clear-minded, supremely heedful and discriminating, noting and remembering what has long since been done and spoken. This is the seventh. . . . (8) Moreover, friends, a brother is habitually contemplating the rise and passing away of the five aggregates of grasping, to wit: 'Such is the material [aggregate], such its cause, its cessation.'

¹ Vūpakāsa. We have not elsewhere met with this word.

² Gocara: range, proper limits in thought and conduct.

³ Cf. above, p. 246 (2); cf. 230*.

Similarly for the four mental aggregates. This is the eighth condition, the eighth cause of such as conduce to attaining that wisdom in the fundamentals of religious life which have not been attained, to multiplying, expanding, developing, perfecting those that have been attained.

ii. *Eight to be developed*:—the Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right views, intentions, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration (*p.* 238, ii.).

iii. *Eight to be understood*:—the eight matters of worldly concern, to wit, gains and losses . . . (*as detailed on p.* 241).

iv. *Eight to be eliminated*:—[287] the eight wrong factors of character and conduct . . . (*as detailed on p.* 237).

v. *Eight . . . belonging to decline*:—the eight bases of slackness:—Herein, friends, let a brother have some work to do . . . (*as detailed on p.* 238).

vi. *Eight . . . belonging to distinction*:—the eight bases of setting afoot an undertaking:—Herein, friends, let a brother have some work to do . . . (*as detailed on p.* 239).

vii. *Eight . . . hard to penetrate*:—the eight untimely, unseasonable intervals for life in a religious order . . . (*as detailed on p.* 244, *but omitting the fourth*:—‘rebirth as Asura’).

viii. *Eight . . . to be brought to pass*:—the eight thoughts of a superman.¹ This Norm¹ is for one of little wants, not for one of great wants; for one who is serenely content, not for the discontented; for one who is detached,² not for one who is fond of society; for one who is energetic, not for the slacker; for one who has presence of mind, not a confused mind; for one whose mind is concentrated, not distracted; for one who has insight, not for the unintelligent; for one who delights

¹ The first seven are said to have been excogitated by the Thera Anuruddha. The Buddha adds the eighth, and repeats them all as a sermon to the Order. A. IV (a misprint in our text gives III), 229.

² ‘As to body, mind and the conditions for rebirth’ Comy.

not in conceit, craving and opinion,¹ not for one who delights therein.

ix. *Eight to be thoroughly learnt*:—the eight positions of mastery . . . (as detailed on p. 241).

[288] x. *Eight to be realized*:—the eight deliverances . . . (as detailed on p. 242).

Now these Eight Things are genuine, true . . . perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

IX.

2. There are Nine Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Nine that help much*:—the nine states of mind and body which are rooted in orderly thinking²:—To one so thinking, gladness arises, in him gladdened, rapture arises, his mind enraptured the body is satisfied, one whose body is thus appeased is at ease, he being happily at ease, the mind is stayed, with mind thus stayed, concentrated, he knows he sees [things] as they really are, and he thus knowing thus seeing turns in repulsion, repelled he becomes passionless: hence he is set free.

ii. *Nine to be developed*:—the nine factors in wrestling for utter purity, to wit, the purification of morals, of the mind, of views, the purification of escaping from doubt, that of intuition and insight into what is the [genuine] path, and what is not, that of intuition and insight into progress, the purification which is intuition and insight, that which is understanding, that which is emancipation.³

¹ Expansion of *papañca*. This term is by the Commentators usually analyzed into these three, the term itself being left unequated.

² Cf. above, pp. 229. 251, vi.

³ On the later scheme of this 'purity,' cf. Compendium, p. 210 f. Here the first seven are given, the eighth is omitted (*paññā* occurs only twice in the book), the ninth is developed separately. B.'s sparse comments agree with the definitions, p. 212 f., but he refers the reader to *Visuddhi Magga* for more, also to the 'Ratha-Vinita,' presumably M. I, Sutta 24, especially p. 147. The last two he calls the fruition of Arahantship. The *Visuddhi Magga* is an expansion of just these nine heads.

iii. *Nine to be understood*:—the nine spheres inhabited by beings . . . (as detailed on p. 243).

iv. *Nine to be eliminated*:—[289] the nine things springing from craving, to wit, pursuit caused by craving, gain because of pursuit, decision because of gain, desire and passion because of decision, tenacity because of desire and passion, possession because of tenacity, avarice because of possession, watch and ward because of avarice, and many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions:—blows and wounds, strife, contradiction and retort, quarrelling, slander and lies.¹

v. *Nine belonging to decline*:—the nine bases of quarrelling, thus:—quarrelling is stirred up at the thought 'he has done me an injury . . .' (detailed *ibid.*).

vi. *Nine belonging to distinction*:—The nine suppositions of quarrelling . . . (detailed *ibid.* in the following section).

vii. *Nine hard to penetrate*:—the nine differences:—on account of difference in the [sensory] element, a different contact takes place, on account of difference in contact difference in feeling arises, hence difference in perception,² hence difference in purposive thought, hence difference in active desire, hence difference in greed, hence difference in pursuit, hence difference in gain.

viii. *Nine to be brought to pass*:—the nine perceptions, to wit, perception of ugliness, of death,³ revulsion from nutriment (physical, sensory, mental),⁴ disaffection with everything worldly, impermanence, suffering in impermanence, [290] no-soul in that which suffers, elimination, passionlessness.

¹ Repeated verbatim from the *Māhā Nidāna Suttanta* (Dial. II, 55, cf. footnotes *ibid.*).

² That is, in perception with regard to sense-experience. Comy.

³ Intuition on contemplating death. Comy. 'Sa ñ ñ ā' is here concept rather than percept, or perception widely understood

⁴ On the four kinds, see p. 254.

ix. *Nine to be thoroughly learnt*:—the nine successional states, to wit, the Four Jhānas . . . (*detailed as on pp. 123, 215*).

x. *Nine to be realized*:—the nine successional cessations . . . (*detailed as on p. 245*).

Now these Nine Things are genuine, true . . . perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

X.

3. There are Ten Things that help much . . . that must be realized.

i. *Ten that help much*:—the ten doctrines conferring protection. (1) Herein, friends, a brother is virtuous, lives self-controlled . . . (*as detailed on p. 245 f.*).

ii. *Ten that must be developed*:—the ten objects for self-hypnosis . . . (*as detailed on p. 247*).

iii. *Ten that must be understood*:—the ten areas [of sense-contact],¹ to wit, the five organs of special sense and the five kinds of sense-objects.

iv. *Ten that must be eliminated*:—the ten wrong factors [of character and conduct], to wit, wrong views, wrong purposes, wrong speech, action and livelihood, wrong effort, mindfulness and concentrative practice, wrong knowledge, wrong emancipation.²

v. *Ten belonging to decline*:—the ten bad channels of action, to wit, taking life . . . (*as detailed on p. 247*).

[291] vi. *Ten belonging to distinction*:—the ten good channels of action, . . . to wit, the opposites of the ten in v.).

vii. *Ten hard to penetrate*:—the ten Ariyan methods of living. Herein, friends, a brother has got rid of five factors . . . (*as detailed ibid.*).

viii. *Ten that must be brought to pass*:—the ten perceptions, to wit, perception of ugliness, of death, of passionlessness, . . . (*as detailed on p. 263*), and of cessation.

¹ Or 'fields,' or 'spheres,' Āyatanaṇi. Cf. Expositor I, 186.

² Cf. the first eight, p. 237.

ix. *Ten to be thoroughly learnt* :—the ten causes of wearing away :—by right views wrong views are worn away ; whatever manifold bad and wicked qualities, proceeding from those wrong views, take shape, they are worn away in you. And many good qualities, caused by right views, become developed and brought to perfection. The same wearing away is wrought by the other nine factors of the tenfold Path¹ on the opposed nine wrong factors of character and conduct.²

[292] x. *Ten to be realized* :—the ten qualities of the adept, to wit, the ten factors (*detailed on p. 249, vi.*).

Now these Ten Things are genuine, true, thus, not otherwise, not different, perfectly comprehended by the Tathāgata.

Thus spake the venerable Sāriputta. And pleased in mind those brethren delighted in his words.

Here endeth the Dasuttara-Suttanta.

[ENVOI]

*To compass utter end of ill ;
To bring to pass true happiness ;
Haven ambrosial to win
Under the Sovereign of the Norm.*

Here endeth the Dīgha Nikāya or
Long-[Sutta]-Collection.

¹ Cf. x.

² Cf. iv.

APPENDIX.

NAMES IN ĀṬṬANĀṬIYA SUTTANTA.

[NOTE.—In the list of names, p. 195, § 10, those who in the Canon are elsewhere met with as specifically Yakkhas, or as Gandhabbas *only* are marked *. Those who are also met with as Vedic gods are marked †.]

- † Inda, Dial. I, 310, cf. II, 299, called Indra, II, 308 (in Saṃyutta I, 206, Petavatthu II, 9, 65, 66, we meet with an Inda-ka Yakkha).
- † Soma, Dial. I, 310; II, 290.
- † Varuṇa, Dial. I, 310; II, 290; S. I, 219.
Bhāradvāja (?); in Dial. I, 304 an ancient brahmin Rishi.
Cf. Vin. Texts II, 130.
- † Pajāpati, Dial. I, 310; II, 308; S. I, 219.
Candana, Dial. II, 288; M. III, 199; S. I, 53; IV, 280.
- * Kāmasaṭṭha, Dial. II, 288 (misprinted in Dial. II, 288 as Rāma^a).
- * Kinnughaṇḍu, Dial. II, 288.
- * Nighaṇḍu, Dial. II, 288.
Panāda, Dial. II, 288, cf. above, p. 76; Psalms of the Brethren, 130; other references *ibid.*, n. 1.
Opamañña, Dial. II, 288.
Devasūta.
- Mātali, Dial. II, 288; S. I, 221 f.; Jāt. I, 202; V, 383, 397.
- * Cittasena, Dial. II, 288.
- * Nala, Dial. II, 288.
- * Suro Rājā (? Suro *and* Rājā).
- * Janesabha, Dial. II, 288.
- * Sātāgira, Sn., ver. 153 f.
- * Hemavata, Sn., ver. 154 f.
- * Puṇṇaka, Jāt. VI, 255 f.
Karatiya.
Gula.
- * Sīvaka, S. I, 211; Vin. Texts III, 181 f.
Mucalinda, in Vin. Texts I, 80 a nāga king.
Vessāmitta, Dial. II, 287; in I, 304 an ancient brahmin Rishi.

Yugandhara.

Gopāla.

Suppagedha.

Hiri.

Netti.

Mandiya.

Pañcālacaṇḍa in Jāt. V, 430, 437, brahmin, in ibid. VI, 433,
a prince.

Ālavaka, S. I, 213; Sn. I, 10.

Pajunna, S. I, 29 f.; Jāt. I, 331; IV, 253.

Sumana.

Sumukha.

Dadhimukha.

Maṇi.

Mānicara.

Digha, M. I, 210.

Serissaka, Vim. 84, 21.

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II.—PALI WORDS DISCUSSED IN FOOTNOTES OR HERE.

Ākālika, 10, n. 5
 Attā, n. 2
 Advejjhavāco (p. 160): advejjha-kathāya parisuddhakathāya kathita-bhāvaṃ assa sadevako loko iminā kāraṇena jānatū ti. Cf. Buddhavaṃsa, ii., 110: advejjhavacanā Buddhā. = advaidhya (E. Muller, Pali Gram., 54)
 Adhipaññatti (p. 138). *Practically identical in meaning with paññatti, and sixfold*:—khandha, dhātu, āyatana, indriya, sacca, puggala. Comy.
 Anudhamma = anurūpadhamma (XII., 16).
 Anukampati, 171
 Anusaya, 237, n. 2
 Antaggahikā dīṭṭhi, 41, n. 2
 Abhicetasika, 108, n. 2
 Abhidhamme abhivinaye, 246, n. 3
 Abhejja, cf. A. I, 124
 Asani-vicakka, 40, n. 2.
 Avici, 73, n. 1
 Ahicchattako, 83, n. 1
 Ākāśānañca. *When Jhāna is meant, construe the sentence as ākāśānañca āyatanaṃ assā ti: ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ. When object is meant, construe*:—ākāśānañcam eva āyatanaṃ, *or* ākāśānañca taṃ āyatanañca ti ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ. (Comy.)

Āghātaṃ bandhati = kopaṇ uppādeti, 243
 Āpāthakanisādi, 40, n. 3
 Āraddho: paritosito ceva nipphādito ca (p. 174)
 Āsava, 175, n. 1, 209, n. 3
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 Kiñcana, 210, n. 7
 Kukkuṭasampātikā, 72, n. 2
 Kusala, 27, n. 3
 Kusalatā, 205, n. 6
 Catukunṭiko, 11, n. 4
 Thānaṃ ti kāraṇaṃ, 174; cf. 249, n. 1.
 Cf. Sum. V. i., 112
 Tiracchānakathā, 33, n. 2
 Tuṇḍikira, 192, n. 5
 Dīṭṭhisampanno, 206, n. 10
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 Dhātu, 205, n. 4, 208, n. 4, n. 6.
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Nāmaṇ, 205, n. 2
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 Nibbāna, 208, n. 5
 Nibbuti = kilesanibbāna, 190, n. 1
 Nimittaṇ, 206, n. 8
 Niyata, 210, n. 4
 Nirodha as vibhava, 209, n. 1
 Necayika, 18, n. 1
 Nekkhamma, 208, n. 2

Paccattam yoniso manasikāro
 ti attano upāyamanasikārena (p.
 102; cf. p. 2)

Paccupaṭṭhātabba, 171
 Paññattā ti ṭhapitā. Comy.
 Paññā, 249, n. 1
 Paṭibhānavā, 183, n. 1
 Paṭibhāno, 102, n. 3
 Patisaraṇa, 112, n. 2
 Padhāna, 217, n. 1
 Papañca, 262, n. 1
 Pariyāyam akāsi (p. 7). Cf. Sum.
 Vil. I, 36. *Pariyāyo here prob-*
ably means kāraṇam. In Mil.
219 (trs. II, 15) kāraṇaṇ karoti is
rendered 'to bring (land) into
use.' In Saṅgutta I, 17 pariyaṇyo,
'mutter,' is by the Comy. para-
phrased by kāraṇaṇ (K.S. I, 27)
 Paripuṇṇa-sankappo, 39, n. 2
 Pasādo, pasanno, pasidi, 97, n. 2
 Piyasamudāhāro, 246, n. 1
 Puggala, 223, n. 5

Bodhipakkhiyā dhammā, 93, n. 1 ;
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 Brahma, 81, n. 2, 223, n. 5
 Brahmācariyesanā, 209, n. 4
 Brahmācārino, 117, n. 2
 Bhavābhavo, 220, n. 3

Bhonto sattā, 47, n. 1
 Mittāni, 180, n. 2
 Mutaṇ, 127, n. 2, 223, n. 4
 Meraya. *it is worthy of note that*
meraya comprises four āsavas,
extracted from flowers, fruits,
honey and molasses, and fifthly
the āsava which is sambhāra-
saṅgutto. Cf. Childers s.v. sam-
bhāra

Moneyyāni, 213, n. 7

Yoniso, 218, n. 8

Lokadhātu, 108, n. 3

Vijānavātāni, 35, n. 1
 Vijjā, 207, n. 1
 Vitakka, 108, n. 1
 Vibhava as nirodha, 208, 209,
 n. 1
 Vūpakāsa, 260, n. 1
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Saṅgari, 190, n. 4
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 Sankappa, 208, n. 3, 237, n. 5
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 cf. 220 ; āneñjābhī°, 211, n. 3°
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 Satata, 234, n. 2
 Sadattho, p. 79, n. 3
 Sappaṭihirakatam, 115, n. 1
 Samavekkhati : in Comy. samapek-
 khati = sammā pekkhati, (p. 184)
 Sārāṇiyā (dhammā), 231. *On the*
double meaning see Childers s.v.
Cf. Dial. II, 85 (XXXIII, 2, 2, xiv.)
 Sukha, 123, n. 1
 Suppaṭividaṇ = sutthu paccak-
 khaṇ katan, 230
 Suhadā ti sundarahadaya, 178

